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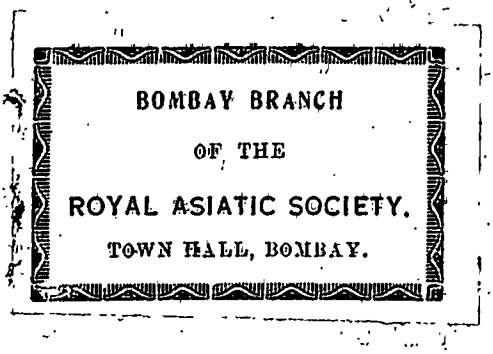

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ELEMENTS

OF

GENERAL HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

A TABLE OF CHRONOLOGY,

AND

A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF ANCIENT AND MODERN GEOGRAPHY.

VOL. III.

BEING A CONTINUATION,

TERMINATING AT THE

DEMISE OF HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE III., 1820.

BY THE REV. EDWARD NARES, D.D.

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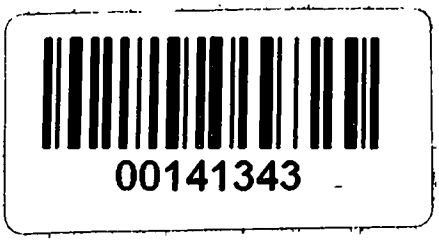

ADVERTISEMENT.

As the learned Author of the Elements of General History, Professor Tytler, (by courtesy Lord Woodhouselee,) did not die before the year 1813, it is much to be regretted that he should not have brought his History down lower, or rather that he should have left so much to be supplied by less able hands; especially as the events and transactions of the eighteenth century may justly be held to have exceeded, in variety and importance, all that ever took place before on the face of the earth.

In the present volume, nothing farther has been attempted than to continue the History from the point at which the Professor left it, in the same concise style, and with as much attention to the original method and design, as

could be rendered consistent with the extraordinary nature of the facts and incidents to be recorded.

To this end it has been found necessary to carry on the History of Great Britain and Ireland from the period of the death of Queen Anne;

That of the Southern Continental States of Europe from the end of the reign of Lewis XIV.;

And that of the Northern States from the death of Charles XII. of Sweden, and Peter the First of Russia.

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MODERN HISTORY,

CONTINUED.

PART THIRD.

I.

FRANCE FROM THE DEATH OF LEWIS XIV. 1715, TO THE PEACE OF VIENNA, 1738.

THE last years of the very long and splendid reign of Lewis XIV. were clouded by many severe domestic misfortunes, and a great change in the sentiments and manners of the sovereign and his court. A mystical religion became the vogue, accompanied with a gravity of demeanour approaching to prudery. The amiable Fenelon fell into these errors, which were countenanced by Madame de Maintenon, who had been privately married to the king, and seems to have possessed his confidence in a high degree.

2. On the king's demise (see sect. LXIV.) the crown descended to his grandson, Lewis XV., an infant, only five years old. In a very short space of time losses had occurred in the royal family, so strange and unexpected, as to afford ground for suspicion, greatly to the prejudice of the Duke of Orleans, nephew of Lewis XIV. Three heirs to the crown, the Dauphin, his son the Duke of Burgundy, and his grandson the Duke of Bretagne, had all died within the short space of eleven months, during the years 1711, 1712, leaving, to intercept the claims and pretensions of the Duke of Orleans, only the Duke of Berry and one infant, apparently of a feeble and delicate constitution, and whose own life had also been in danger. The King of Spain had been previously compelled, according to the spirit of the celebrated treaty of the Pyrenees, formally to renounce his claims to the succession, notwithstanding his near relationship to the crown of France. Lastly, the Duke of Berry died, May 1714, at the early age of 18.

3. Fortunately for the reputation of the Duke of Orleans, (who, though of loose morals, seems to have possessed too generous a heart for such base deeds,) the infant Dauphin not only lived to become king, but to survive the duke him-

self, many years. Nor were the suspicions which had been raised by the sudden deaths of so many heirs to the crown, strong enough to prevent the nation reposing the highest confidence in the Duke, by suffering the kingly power to pass into his hands, as sole regent, during the minority; though contrary to the express appointment of the late king, who is said to have wisely observed, when for form-sake he executed his will, that it would have but little weight with the people or the parliament, as soon as his eyes were closed. The nation willingly acceded to the disposition of the parliament, in setting aside the claims of the illegitimate princes, whom the will of Lewis XIV. favoured; and the Duke of Orleans was careful to fix that body in his interest, by promising to restore to it, its full power of remonstrance, which had been greatly restrained during the preceding reign.

4. Lewis XIV. had left his kingdom so incumbered with debt, and so surrounded by mortified, jealous, and exasperated neighbours, eager to recover what had been taken from them during the triumphant wars of that monarch, that it became an object of the highest importance to the regent, for the nation's sake, as well

as his own, to maintain peace, as far as he could, with foreign states. To this end, though very contrary to any former course of things, he prudently endeavoured to form alliances with the courts of *St. James's* and *Vienna*. In the former case, the advantages were similar and mutual. By the treaty of Utrecht, England stood engaged to secure the French crown to the regent, in case Lewis XV. should die without issue; and to keep her steady to this engagement, it was easy for the duke to comply with the wishes of the whig government of England, in withholding all encouragement from the Pretender.

5. However pacific the views of the Regent might be, Spain seemed to present an obstacle to the repose and tranquillity of Europe. There a minister of a very different disposition had obtained the chief management of affairs, who appeared bent upon disturbing both the French and English governments, in order to recover what had been taken from Spain by the treaty of Utrecht, especially in Italy; to deprive the Duke of Orleans of the regency, in favour of the King his master, and to seat the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain, with the aid of Russia and Sweden. Such were the plans of the celebrated *Alberoni*; originally the son of

a gardener; afterwards in the lowest stations in the church of Placentia, but who had raised himself by an extraordinary display of genius and talent, to the highest degree of credit and influence at the court of Philip V., with the exalted rank of cardinal.

6. These movements indeed on the part of Spain, were not in themselves altogether unfavourable to the views of the Regent; in better securing to him the good-will of England and Austria, always prepared to be jealous of too close an intimacy between the courts of Paris and Madrid. Some historians have even gone so far as to suppose it to have been a settled contrivance to impose upon the former two courts, but certainly without sufficient grounds.

7. It seems to have been a great oversight in the negotiations at Utrecht, not to have endeavoured more effectually to reconcile the courts of Austria and Spain. The former, after the treaty, remained jealous of the occupation of the Spanish throne by Philip; while the latter could not fail to be aggrieved and offended at being made to contribute to the indemnification of Charles VI., by a very considerable dismemberment of its dominions, without any suitable or adequate remuneration.

8. To counteract the projects of Alberoni, the Regent entered into an alliance with England and the United States; entirely sacrificing to the former the interests of the Pretender, who was to be sent out of France. But the Spanish minister was not to be deterred by this triple alliance and confederacy against him. Having watched his opportunity of a war between the Emperor of Germany and the Porte, he suddenly commenced hostilities; and, with no small degree of treachery, in the course of the years 1717 and 1718, succeeded in wresting from Austria the island of Sardinia, and from the Duke of Savoy that of Sicily, thus violating, in the most direct and glaring manner, the solemn treaty of Rastadt, so lately concluded. In consequence of these proceedings, and in order to remedy, as it would seem, the defects and omissions of the original convention, Austria was admitted a party to the alliance between France, England, and Holland, with a view to bring about a reconciliation between the Emperor and Spain, upon the basis of the following arrangement: that the former should renounce all claims to the Spanish throne in favour of Philip, while the latter should surrender to the Emperor, the Netherlands, the duchy of Milan, and the king-

dom of Naples, assigned to him by the treaty of Utrecht and the quadruple alliance. That the Duke of Savoy should yield Sicily to Austria, receiving in exchange the island of Sardinia from Spain; and that the eldest son of Philip, by his second marriage, Don Carlos, should be secured in the reversion of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, and the grand duchy of Florence, to be holden as male fiefs under the Emperor, and on no occasion whatever to be united to the crown of Spain.

9. There never was a period perhaps, in which it would have been more difficult to unravel the policy of these several courts. It was certainly a strange thing for the Emperor to agree, in any manner, to admit the Spaniards into Italy, of which he had so much reason to be distrustful; much more to assist in doing so. While those very terms which were undoubtedly introduced to gratify the Spanish minister, in this particular respect, so far from securing the ready consent of the court of Madrid, only induced it to make fresh efforts. The predominance of France and England, however, soon became so conspicuous, as to compel Philip to subscribe to the articles of the alliance, and even to dismiss his favourite minister, the cause

of all the grievances of which the allied powers had to complain. In 1720 Austria took possession of Sicily, and Victor Amadeus II. transferred the seat of his government to the much smaller island of Sardinia.

10. In the month of December, 1723, in the 50th year of his age, the Regent Duke of Orleans died very suddenly in a fit of apoplexy. He was a prince of shining talents, and of great taste and spirit; but dissolute in his habits of life to a most disgraceful pitch of extravagance. He did not indeed suffer his pleasures and licentious connections to interfere greatly with the discharge of his public duties, but they tarnished his fame, and in all likelihood shortened his life. He had the misfortune in his youth to be put into the hands of a most unprincipled tutor, the Abbé Dubois, who continued with him to the last year of his life, dying only four months before him, a cardinal of Rome, and prime minister of France! The elevation of this profligate man to such high stations in the church and state, did more mischief to the cause of religion and morality, than the personal vices of the Regent, who, amidst a thousand foibles, had some great and brilliant qualities.

Neither Austria nor Spain were satisfied with

what had been done for them, and strong remonstrances were prepared on the part of the Dukes of Parma and Placentia, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Pope, against the grants in reversion to the Infant of Spain. Attempts were made to reconcile the two courts more effectually by a congress, summoned to meet at Cambray in the year 1724, under the joint mediation of France and England, but ineffectually: in 1725 another, but more private, attempt had better success; it was undertaken by a very singular and eccentric character, the Baron, or Duke de Ripperda, Dutch minister at the court of Madrid, who succeeded so far, through his own intrigues, and the venality of the Imperial court, as to give umbrage to the governments of France and England; the latter soon saw the necessity of guarding, by a counter-treaty, framed at Hanover, against the effects of Ripperda's interposition.

11. Secret articles were said to be signed and executed, to recover for Spain the fortress of Gibraltar, and the island of Minorca, to seat the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain, to forward the Emperor's views with regard to the Ostend East India Company, and to cement the alliance by marriages which would have laid a foundation for the reunion of the Austrian

and Spanish dominions under one sovereign. Ripperda himself is said to have communicated these secret articles to the English government: he was made to pay dear for his treachery.

As the Empress of Russia had acceded to the treaty of *Vienna*, concluded by Ripperda, and France and England taken steps to secure Holland and Prussia on their side, Europe seemed to be threatened with another general war, but the timely death of the Empress, in 1727, and the defection of Prussia, gave a turn to affairs, and left room for the renewal of the congress of Cambray, transferred, in the year 1728, to Soissons, where fresh endeavours were made to establish a solid and permanent peace. As the Emperor, however, insisted on the accession of all the contracting powers, to the Pragmatic Sanction, which was to secure to his heirs general the undivided succession to all his territories and dominions, the other courts withdrew; and in November 1729, concluded at Seville in Spain a separate treaty, in which it was agreed, between France, England, and Spain, to support the pretensions of the Infant to the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany. To this treaty Holland was soon after brought to accede, on the condition that her rights should be protected against the new East India

Company, established by the Emperor at Ostend, which was considered as contrary to the treaty of Westphalia, and manifestly injurious both to England and the United States. The treaty of Seville was settled so totally without the concurrence of the Emperor, that his name was not even mentioned in it, which, as might be reasonably expected, gave great offence. In the year 1731, however, England, and in 1732 Holland, acceded to the wishes of the Emperor, in regard to the Pragmatic Sanction, on condition that the archduchess, who should succeed to the empire, should not marry any Bourbon, or other prince or potentate, capable of disturbing the peace of Europe. The Ostend Company was given up; the Infant Don Carlos took possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia on the death of the last of the Farnese family, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany acknowledged him as his heir. A treaty between England, Holland, and the Empire, called the second treaty of Vienna, was signed and executed at the latter place, which may be said to have terminated all the differences arising out of the Spanish succession, by which the greater part of Europe had been kept in a state of agitation for the space of thirty years.

While these things were in agitation, Victor

Amadeus, embarrassed, as it is said, with the counter engagements he had entered into with Austria and Spain, for he had tried to deceive all parties, thought fit to resign his crown to his son, Charles Emmanuel, but soon repenting of what he had done, prepared to re-ascend his abdicated throne; this rash and injudicious step, was the cause of his imprisonment, and probably of his death, which happened in November, 1732.

12. In 1733, France became involved again in a war, both the origin and end of which, had something remarkable in them. The throne of the elective kingdom of Poland, becoming vacant by the demise of Augustus of Saxony, two competitors appeared on the stage; the son of the deceased king, and Stanislaus Lescinsky, who had with great credit previously occupied it, through the interposition of Charles XII. of Sweden, (See Sect. LXVI.) and whose daughter was married to Lewis XV. The Emperor of Germany, the Czarina, and the King of Prussia, espoused the cause of the former, France supported the latter, and commenced hostilities against the Emperor, by detaching the King of Sardinia from his interests, and occupying Lorraine, whose duke was engaged to marry the Emperor's daughter. But the principal seat of war was in Italy, where the

French, Spanish, and Sardinian combined troops obtained many advantages, and ultimately succeeded in seating Don Carlos, Duke of Parma, &c., on the throne of the two Sicilies, to which he had been particularly invited by the Neapolitans. The Austrian court had been very supine, in not guarding better against the manifest designs of the Queen of Spain, mother of Don Carlos. He was crowned king by the title of Charles the Third, July 3. 1735. Naples was subdued in 1734, and Sicily in the year following. During this contest, the celebrated Prince Eugene, though then past seventy years of age, had the command of the Imperial army on the Rhine; but he had great cause to be offended with the situation in which he was placed; the French being stronger; England not to be roused to assist him, through the pacific views of the minister Walpole; and having, both at court and in the army, many rivals and secret enemies. His only consolation was, the extreme and enthusiastic attachment of the soldiers, the very remembrance of which, as he feelingly acknowledges in the memoirs attributed to him, often afterwards drew tears from his eyes.

13. Matters were brought to an accommodation, through the mediation of the maritime powers, (who, undoubtedly, appear in this case

to have been guilty of misleading the Emperor,) by a convention signed at Vienna, in November, 1738. By this treaty some very extraordinary appointments took place. Stanislaus, the deposed King of Poland, father-in-law to the King of France, obtained, keeping his kingly title, the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, to revert to France after his death, which did not take place till the year 1766. In exchange for what was thus bestowed upon Stanislaus, the Duke of Lorraine obtained the grand duchy of Tuscany, the reversion of which had been guaranteed to the infant Don Carlos, but who was, by the same treaty, acknowledged King of the two Sicilies, surrendering in his turn to the Emperor, his two duchies of Parma and Placentia; Vigevano and Novaro were given to the King of Sardinia; and to the Emperor, the Milanese, the Mantuan, and Parma.

On the conclusion of the peace, France acceded to the Pragmatic Sanction. The Kings of Spain and Sardinia showed some reluctance to agree to the terms of the treaty, but were induced to sign it in the course of the year 1739. It is certainly very remarkable, that, in consequence of a dispute about the crown of Poland, not only the Emperor should have lost almost all his possessions in Italy, but France should have

been able to recover a province of which she had been deprived for the space of nearly a thousand years, which had been an object of desire to Henry IV. and the Cardinal de Richelieu, and which was so situated as to render it one of the most splendid and gratifying acquisitions she could possibly have contemplated.

II.

ENGLAND FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER, 1714, TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE FIRST, 1727.

1. QUEEN ANNE was no sooner dead, [Part II. Sect. LXIV. § 20.] than steps were taken for the immediate acknowledgment of her successor, George Lewis, Elector of Brunswick Lüneburg, pursuant to the several acts of parliament, for securing the Protestant succession, in exclusion of the Pretender, the house of Savoy, and, in fact, every Catholic branch of the royal family of England; many of whom were more directly in the line of inheritance than the Protestant descendants of James the First, in whom the crown was now vested; not, however, without due regard to that hereditary line which may be

said to have occupied the throne from the time of Egbert. The late union with Scotland, 1706, [see as above] was calculated to suppress any general desire on the part of the people there, to place themselves again under a distinct sovereign.

2. The accession of George I., to judge from the addresses of the two houses of parliament, and the general tranquillity manifested in all parts of the three kingdoms, at the time of his proclamation, would seem to have been acceptable to the nation at large. Nor was the French king long before he openly acknowledged his right and title to the crown of Great Britain, though the sincerity of his declarations in favour of a Protestant succession, and the exclusion of the house of Stuart, was not too confidently relied upon. The states of Holland were, probably, entirely cordial, both in their expressions of congratulation, and promises of support, according to existing engagements to that effect, as guarantees of the Hanoverian succession. From the King of Prussia, and various other princes and states of Germany, His Majesty also received the strongest assurances of support; yet so little are these courtesies to be trusted, that it is more than probable, from circumstances since come

to light, that at this very moment, with regard to the continental states in general, he had more enemies than friends.

3. His entrance into his new dominions, however, September, 1714, was hailed in a manner that could not fail to be extremely gratifying to the King; though it soon became manifest, and could not well have been otherwise, that there were many secret heart-burnings and disappointed hopes, to prevent that perfect unanimity which was most desirable on an occasion so important. The Tories, some of whom had evidently been tampering with the Pretender, during the last years of the Queen's reign, were greatly discomfited, and in a very marked manner discountenanced by the king himself. The Whigs enjoyed a triumph. The Pretender's friends in general stood confounded, not only by the low estate of his cause, but by the perplexity of their own feelings, with regard to his more direct hereditary claims to the crown. In this dilemma, it is not to be wondered that several should refuse to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration. Scotland also, in part at least, bewailed its lost independency by the act of union, which some were forward to have dissolved again; and the Papists, being very

numerous in Ireland, rendered the peace of that kingdom constantly precarious.

4. The person, manners, and deportment, of the new sovereign, were not such as immediately to conciliate his British subjects; but he was by no means destitute of kingly virtues, and accomplishments of a more solid and important description. Having delivered the ministerial government of the realm into the hands of the Whigs, it was not long before serious proceedings were entered into, by the new administration, against the authors and advisers of the late peace and treaty of Utrecht; and articles of impeachment for high treason, exhibited against the Earl of Oxford, Viscount Bolingbroke, the Duke of Ormond, Earl of Strafford, and others. The Duke of Ormond, and Lord Bolingbroke, absconded; the Earl of Oxford, with greater magnanimity, stood upon his defence, and though imprisoned for a considerable time, was finally acquitted. Under a pretence of the church being in danger, which seems to have been adopted as a sort of watch-word by the Tory party and jacobites, (for so the adherents of the Pretender were called,) riots and tumults took place in many parts of the kingdom; in consequence of which, the King was empowered

by parliament (1715,) to raise fresh forces, and the *habeas corpus* act was suspended, for the more speedy apprehension and detention of suspected persons.

5. In Scotland, however, notwithstanding great precautions to the contrary, a rebellion actually broke out in the month of August, 1715, headed by the Earl of Mar, late secretary of state for that kingdom; and in September, the Pretender's standard was erected at a place called Brae Mar, though the Pretender himself did not arrive in Scotland till the December following; before which time, a severe action had taken place at Dunblain, between the contending armies, commanded on the side of the English, by the Duke of Argyle; and on the side of the Scotch, by the Earl of Mar. The Pretender, on reaching the shores of Scotland, was received with regal honours, and addresses were presented to him from many corporate bodies; even his coronation was fixed to take place on the 23d day of January. But during the course of these transactions, the chief officers of his army, as soon after appeared, were but too well convinced of their perfect inability to terminate the contest successfully, many things having fallen out to the disappoint-

ment of their hopes; particularly the death of Lewis XIV., who, notwithstanding his protestations in favour of the house of Hanover, had secretly favoured their cause. The English army besides, since the battle of Dunblain, had been considerably reinforced, by Dutch as well as English troops. This being the case, as we learn from an account given by the Earl of Mar himself, they felt compelled to abandon their enterprize for the present; and in order to check the pursuit of the enemy, eager to seize the person of the Pretender, they persuaded the latter to leave the kingdom again, and return to France; the Earl of Mar himself accompanying him. They were followed, afterwards, by many leaders of the rebels, who, in a most extraordinary manner, escaped the English vessels stationed to intercept their passage; but some of those, who had previously fallen into the hands of the English, as the Earl of Derwentwater, and others, were impeached, and pleading guilty, executed. Many escaped by an act of grace. Thus was the rebellion, in a great measure, subdued; congratulatory addresses poured in upon the sovereign, and a day of public thanksgiving was appointed to be observed throughout the kingdom.

6. The Whigs, however, apprehending that their opponents, in a new parliament, might regain their ascendancy, and be able to carry into execution their projects against the existing government, brought in a bill, (since called the septennial bill,) for enlarging the continuance of Parliament, whereby the term was extended from *three* to *seven* years, unless sooner dissolved by the King, and to begin with the parliament then chosen and assembled; a most important measure, and accidentally originating with a party more friendly in repute, to the rights and liberty of the people, than the step itself would seem to imply. Abstracted from all temporary or party considerations, it may justly be regarded as a very delicate and important point in politics, to determine either a *maximum* or *minimum*, with regard to the duration of such elective assemblies as the English House of Commons. Frequent elections being essentially necessary to preserve the people from any gross neglect of their interests by their representatives, or any unconstitutional encroachment on their liberty, as well as to remedy abuses; but too frequent elections, having evidently the ill effect of keeping up party divisions, feuds, and animosities, interrupting business, and lessening

the confidence of foreign states in the measures of government. Too frequent elections, besides, by bringing independent candidates so much the oftener into a contest with the treasury, (for government must have, and will always endeavour to exert, a powerful influence,) may in time deter such persons from a conflict so disadvantageous; unless, in short, government influence in elections should entirely be done away, the more frequently they recur, the more they will harass and weaken private independence. (See Burke's Works.) It was undoubtedly a bold step for any parliament, chosen under the popular triennial act of King William, to enlarge its own continuance; nor was it ill urged by a member of the House of Peers, as an argument against the bill, that "if the existing House of Commons continued themselves beyond the time for which they were chosen, they were no more the representatives of the people, but a house of their own making." The Whigs, however, had this excuse, that the proposed measure was calculated to suppress a rebellion, or prevent the renewal of one; not raised, like other rebellions, under a pretence of liberty, but, in their eyes, clearly tending towards slavery, in the establishment of a Catholic

prince, and the destruction of the Protestant interests both in church and state. It was well that they assigned any limits to their continuance, since a mere repeal of the triennial act would have left the term undefined. The bill was finally passed, after much opposition in the lower house, and a strong protest on the part of many lords in the upper, by a majority in the Commons of 264 to 121; and it has continued the law of parliament ever since.

7. In the year 1717, an unpleasant dispute occurred affecting the church, and which seems to have terminated the sittings of convocation. Dr. Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, gave occasion to it, by a sermon preached before the King, March 31., on "The Nature of the Kingdom of Christ," and by a publication entitled, "A Preservative against the Principles and the Practices of the Non-jurors." The Bishop had been a warm friend to the Revolution, and many of the principles he asserted were undoubtedly directed rather against popery than our own establishment; while, in opposition to the *jure divino* pretence of the Tories, he declaimed violently against every abuse of authority, at the hazard of impairing all church discipline, derogating from the regal suprema-

cy in "causes ecclesiastical," and annulling the force of all civil sanctions whatsoever in matters of religion; on these grounds the convocation took the matter up, but without much effect. It was dissolved in the midst of the controversy, and has never sat to do business since. Those who chiefly attacked the Bishop in print, were Dr. Snape of Eton, Dean Sherlock, Dr. Cannon, (who undertook to vindicate the proceedings of convocation,) Dr. Potter, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr. William Law. Perhaps no antagonist entered the lists, with more decorum of manners, or integrity of disposition than the latter, who, in several letters addressed to the bishop, plainly proved that, however innocent his intentions might be, his arguments and expressions plainly tended to the subversion of all church authority, and the encouragement of a most fatal indifference to every particular form of worship and belief, which, considering the high situation he held in the church, and the duties attached to that station, could not but appear in the light of an abandonment of those principles, which alone could have placed him there. Such, however, was the state of parties at the time, that the Bishop was advanced to a higher post in the

church, and some of the most forward of his opponents, dismissed from their employments about the court.

8. In 1718 George the First became a party to the celebrated *quadruple* alliance, formed to counteract the plans and projects of the Spanish minister, Alberoni, (Sect. I. § 8.) who, while his views were chiefly directed towards his native country, Italy, managed to involve almost the whole of Europe in contests and jealousies, exceedingly perplexing, and inimical to the peace and tranquillity of many states. Distant as Sweden was, geographically, from the seat and object of his manœuvres, yet, in order to prevent any interruption from England, he had nearly instigated the celebrated Charles XII. to invade the latter country, for the purpose of restoring the Pretender to the throne of his ancestors. His agents and accomplices, however, were fortunately detected in time to prevent the rupture between the two courts. George I. was no favourite, either with the Swedish monarch, or his celebrated competitor, the Czar of Muscovy.

9. The chief object of the quadruple alliance, as has been before hinted, was to reconcile and adjust the rival claims and pretensions of the

courts of Vienna and Madrid. Alberoni had endeavoured, during the war between the Emperor and the Turks, to get possession of Sardinia, Sicily, and other places, for the sons of the Queen of Spain, a princess of Parma, his native country. He had proposed, in short, to recover for Spain all that had been conceded and surrendered by the treaty of Utrecht. (Part II. Sect. LXIV.) The interference of England, in sending a fleet to the Mediterranean, to support the rights of the Emperor according to treaty, at the very moment when the Spanish forces were prepared to invade Sicily and the kingdom of Naples, exceedingly exasperated the cardinal minister, and induced him to heap reproaches on the British government for their precipitate proceedings, pretending that the Spaniards had in every instance manifested a favourable disposition towards England; though nothing was more notorious than that her merchants had been scandalously ill-treated by them, and her minister at Madrid overwhelmed with complaints to that effect. The latter, indeed, stated afterwards in the House of Commons, that he had presented, at the least, five-and-twenty memorials to the court of Spain upon the subject, without redress; and notwith-

standing all these indignities, and, to evince the desire of his government not too precipitately to commence hostilities, had communicated to the Spanish minister the numbers and force of the English fleet before it sailed, in order to convince him of its superiority, and deter him from the measures he had in view. The defeat of the Spanish fleet, off Sicily, by Admiral Byng, August 1718, ruined all the projects of Alberoni; he soon after fell into disgrace, and was precipitated from the exalted station to which he had attained by the strength of his genius. Whatever his enemies might allege, he was certainly a keen and vigilant statesman, and an able minister, as far as regarded the interests of the country he served, both foreign and domestic.

10. Though so severe an action had taken place in the Mediterranean between the English and Spanish fleets in the month of August, war was not formally declared at London till the close of the year 1718, (Dec. 29.) between which period and the final disgrace and retirement of the Spanish minister, he had attempted two measures of deep revenge, one on the power and person of the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, and the other on the government of George I. of England, by an invasion

of his dominions in favour of the Pretender, and under the direction of the expatriated Duke of Ormond. It is remarkable that these projects were severally detected by the French regent and British monarch, in time to admit of their warning each other of the danger in which they were respectively placed, and of offering the assistance which the cases required.

11. The war so suddenly and unexpectedly excited between Great Britain and Spain, was in no long course of time brought to an issue very honourable and glorious to the former; Admiral Byng, with his fleet in the Mediterranean, having so managed matters as fully to accomplish all the purposes of his mission, putting the Emperor into possession of Sicily, and the Duke of Savoy of Sardinia, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty and embarrasment, owing to the obstinacy, backed by the bravery, of the Spaniards, the hindrances arising from a succession of governors at Naples, and the loss of time in the necessary communications with his own court and that of Vienna. No man, perhaps, ever discharged so delicate and arduous a commission, with more applause on the part of his own country and her allies, or with fewer complaints and less obloquy on the part of his opponents. The

latter, indeed, in this case, rather joined in the commendations so liberally bestowed on him by his employers, at the termination of the short but vigorous contest. When he waited on the King at Hanover, his Majesty is said, very justly, to have observed to him, that he had found out the secret of obliging his enemies as well as his friends; alluding to the very honourable terms in which the Spaniards had expressed themselves concerning him, both as an officer and negotiator. He was most deservedly advanced to the peerage, by the title of Viscount Torrington, and had other appropriate honours bestowed upon him. Towards the close of the year 1719, the King of Spain acceded to the terms of the quadruple alliance; his minister, on the urgent and joint demands of the King of England, the Emperor, and Regent of France, having been previously dismissed and banished the kingdom of Spain.

12. In the course of the year 1719, a bill was brought into parliament by the ministry, for limiting the number of the peers. It originated with Lord Sunderland, who is said to have had in view to restrain the power of the Prince of Wales, whom he had offended, when he should succeed to the throne. After much debate,

and it is supposed almost entirely through the influence of Sir Robert Walpole, it was rejected by a large majority, 269 to 177.

13. In 1720 the king was much occupied in affording protection and support to the Protestant interests abroad, and in endeavouring to restore peace and tranquillity amongst the Northern States. Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and Poland, reaped the fruits of his mediation; but the Czar resisted his proposals, and, for some time, continued to act against Sweden, in defiance of the combined operations of that country and England. He at last, however, consented to accept the mediation of France, and peace was established between Russia and Sweden, by the treaty of Nystadt, 1721.

14. Nothing occurred in this reign more disastrous in its consequences, or more strange and extravagant in its origin and progress, than the celebrated *South Sea* scheme, whereby, though immense fortunes were rapidly made by some, many individuals were ruined, and public credit alarmingly shaken. To enter into the details of this curious speculation and bubble (as it has been but too justly denominated,) in a work like the present, would be useless and very uninteresting, and easily they are to be found else-

where; but such an instance of public infatuation, illusion, and credulity, was only to be matched by the Mississippi scheme, projected by Law, during the regency in France, which had a similar effect, and which was most probably the model from which Sir John Blunt, the projector of the South Sea scheme, took the hint. The French system has been supposed to have had something more substantial in it, with respect to the exclusive trade to Louisiana. But the South Sea scheme had certainly commercial advantages attached to it. The two schemes, it must be admitted, supply the most useful lesson to all wisestates, not to tamper with the public credit, or countenance such suspicious projects; for though both these adventures set out with very plausible pretences of public benefit, and a certainty of relieving, rather than distressing, the credit of the nation, their course and progress soon became such as to excite the most lively apprehensions in all considerate minds, of the consequences which actually ensued; especially in England.

15. The politics of Europe were in a very perplexed state, towards the close of this reign of George I., owing to two treaties, of which some account has been given in another place,

but which were very important to the English nation. These were the treaties of Vienna and Hanover, the former of which took place in April, and the latter in September, 1725. By the former, the Emperor and Spain were supposed secretly to have bound themselves to procure the restitution of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, to the latter power; to aid the Pretender, and to further the interests of the Ostend East India Company, which had given umbrage to England, Holland, and France. By the latter treaty, England was able to secure on her side, against the projects of Austria and Spain, the Kings of Prussia and Sweden, and the States of Holland; but as this aid was very slowly and reluctantly promised, and, in one instance, soon abandoned, the state of affairs would have been very alarming, but for the encouragement given by Parliament, which was so effectual, that though considerable preparations for war took place on the part of almost all the nations concerned, articles of peace, through the mediation of France, were agreed upon in May, 1727, and accepted by the Imperial Court and Spain; by these the charter of the Ostend Company was suspended for a certain period, and the siege of Gibraltar, which had

actually commenced, and been carried on for four months, raised and abandoned.

16. George I. died at Osnaburgh, on his way to his Electoral dominions, June 11. 1727, with the reputation of an honest and generous Prince. He was brave in the field, and wise in council; having had many arduous negotiations on his hands, which he commonly conducted to a favourable issue; not often, however, without large subsidies. His own measures were generally defensive and preventative. He was fortunate in the state of things, at the period of Queen Anne's death, and in the removal of Lewis XIV., and Charles XII., of Sweden, both of whom were personally unfriendly to him, and certainly had projects on foot for the restoration of the Stuart family. King George constantly manifested a disposition to govern according to the laws and constitution of the kingdom. And it has been observed to his credit, that the nation not only improved in wealth and credit during his reign, but enjoyed a greater degree of tranquillity at home, and a longer duration of peace abroad, than during any period since the time of Queen Elizabeth. At the time of his death he was in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

III.

AUSTRIA (AND GERMANY) FROM THE PEACE OF RASTADT, 1714, TO THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, 1748.

1. THE affairs of Austria, as incidentally connected with those of France, Spain, England, Italy, and Prussia, from the year 1713 to 1738, have been already treated of in the preceding sections. It may be necessary, however, to take a brief view of matters, from the commencement of the reign of Charles VI., to the death of that Monarch; which event as we shall have to show, greatly disturbed the whole of Europe, and occasioned the war which was terminated by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748.

2. Charles VI., who had borne a conspicuous part in the succession war, as a competitor for the Spanish throne, (Part II. Sect. LXIV.) became emperor, in the year 1711, on the demise of his elder brother, Joseph I. Though he had declined becoming a party to the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, it was not long before he perceived his error, being left alone to support an

expensive war. In the following year, therefore, he received the proposals made to him by the court of Versailles, consented to the opening of conferences, in the month of November, 1713, and in the March following, 1714, signed the treaty of Rastadt, by which he obtained possession of the Spanish Netherlands, (except the barrier towns ceded to Holland,) Naples, Sardinia, Milan, Frieburg, and Kehl.

3. But he was very soon disturbed in a part of these acquisitions, by the restlessness and jealousy of Spain, already noticed. Great designs were formed against his Italian territories; Sardinia actually taken from him, in 1717; Sicily, in 1718, and further encroachments projected, but for the timely interposition of the English, under Admiral Byng, in the Mediterranean, (Sect. II. § 9. 11.) who soon brought matters to a favourable issue for Austria, with infinite credit to himself, both as an officer and negotiator.

4. Spain had eagerly caught at the opportunity which presented itself of making these attacks upon Austria, while the latter power was engaged in a war with Turkey, in aid of the Venetians. The Turks, (instigated, it has been said, by the Spanish Minister, to engage the attention of Austria,) in violation of the treaty of Carlowitz,

had taken the Morea from the Venetians, before Austria came to their aid, in the year 1716; nor, though from that time so powerfully assisted, were they able to recover that peninsula. Charles VI., however, was not long at variance with the Porte upon this occasion. As early as the year 1718, through the extraordinary skill and valour, of Prince Eugene, the Austrian commander, things were brought to an issue, and a peace concluded, through the mediation of England and Holland, at Passarowitz, by which the Turks were allowed to retain the Morea, on ceding to the Venetians some frontier towns in Albania and Dalmatia, while Austria obtained Belgrade, the Bannat of Temeswar and Wallachia, as far as the Aluta: she was also able to establish a free commerce in all the harbours of the Black Sea, and of the Danube, as well as with the Persians. The early termination of this war, together with the successes of the English on the shores of Sicily, checked the operations of the Spaniards, and disposed them to agree to the terms of the quadruple Alliance. Spain and Austria, however, were not effectually reconciled till the year 1725, at which period the Emperor was induced to renounce his pretensions upon Spain and the Indies.

5. Charles VI. was for a long time deeply occupied in endeavouring to preserve his own dominions from such difficulties as Spain had been involved in, at the beginning of this century, owing to the disputed succession to the Spanish throne, on the demise of Charles II., and in which he had himself been so greatly concerned. He proposed, for this end, by a "pragmatic sanction," to make it a law, that if he should at the time of his death, have either sons or daughters, the hereditary dominions and crowns belonging to the House of Austria, should remain united. In failure of such issue, male or female, the daughters of his deceased brother, Joseph, were to succeed; and if *they* died without heirs, the inheritance was to pass to his sisters, and their descendants. When this act was proposed, at the diet of Ratisbon, it was violently resisted by the Electors of Saxony and Bavaria, as well as the Elector Palatine, but by the treaty of Vienna, 1731, as well as by previous negotiations at the different courts of Europe, almost every power, except France, was brought to consent to the proposed regulations; England and Holland, in particular, having been gained over by the Emperor's agreement to suppress the new East India Com-

pany which he had endeavoured to establish at Ostend. The guaranty of France was not obtained till six years after, in recompence of the transfer of the duchies of Lorraine and Bar to the latter power, on the demise of Stanislaus, King of Poland, who obtained the government of those countries by the treaty of 1738.

6. Charles VI. had scarcely succeeded in his great object of the Pragmatic Sanction, before he was engaged in a fresh war with the Turks, in virtue of a treaty concluded with Russia, who had commenced hostilities against the Porte, in 1736. The war on the part of Austria, however, was of very short duration. She had lost the support of her famous general, Prince Eugene; and her armies, on the present occasion, appear to have been ill conducted. Jealousies and disagreements amongst the superior officers, and a great want of resources, baffled all their operations. In 1739, the Emperor was compelled to submit to the terms of the treaty of Belgrade, which was highly advantageous to Turkey. Austria surrendered Servia, with the fortresses of Belgrade and Szabatch; and Austrian Wallachia, with the fortress of Orsova. By the treaty of Belgrade, the Porte also obtained advantages over Russia; but it is now known, that this convention was very artfully conducted

by an agent of the French court, who was instructed not only to prevent the dismemberment of Turkey, by the combined forces of Austria and Russia, but to resist the aggrandisement of the former, and separate her, if possible, from her northern ally.

7. In the year immediately following that in which the treaty of Belgrade had restored harmony between the two courts of Vienna and Constantinople, so much to the advantage of the latter, at a period when by the settlement of many serious differences all Europe might reasonably have looked to some repose, Charles VI. died, the sixteenth Emperor, and the last heir-male of the House of Hapsburgh. Notwithstanding all the care he had taken to secure to his daughter the entire hereditary dominions of his family; and though almost the whole of Europe had guarantied the indivisibility of his dominions, according to his wishes, he was no sooner dead than numerous claims were set up, and a war kindled, which may be said to have, in its progress, involved every European state. The Archduchess, Maria Theresa, consort of Francis, Duke of Tuscany, according to the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction, (which, however, had been ill drawn up,) succeeded, on the

death of her father, to the following kingdoms, states, and territories: Hungary and Bohemia, Silesia, and Austrian Suabia, Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Burgau, Brisgau, the Low-Countries, Friuli, Tyrol, the Mantuan, and the Duchies of Milan, Parma, and Placentia.

8. Unfortunately for the Archduchess, Charles VI. had left his army in a bad condition, his finances embarrassed, and at the time of his death, a scarcity almost approaching to famine, prevailed in many parts of his dominions. All these circumstances combined, were calculated to raise up competitors for different portions of his estates. Nor were they at all tardy in advancing their claims. The Elector of Bavaria pretended to be the proper heir to the kingdom of Bohemia. Augustus II., Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, having married the eldest daughter of Joseph I., elder brother of Charles VI., claimed the whole Austrian succession. The King of Spain did the same, though upon a more remote title, and entirely through females. The King of Sardinia made pretensions to the Duchy of Milan, and Frederic II., of Prussia, to the province of Silesia.

9. Many of these several claimaints had formally agreed to the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction, and even at first professed the most

favourable dispositions towards the Archduchess, who had taken quiet possession of all that had descended to her; but the times, and the peculiar circumstances of the empire, encouraged them to break through their engagements; not, however, altogether without some pretence of honour and justice; as was the case with France. The King of France had, as well as the Kings of Poland and Spain, pretended to have derived a right from two princesses, married to Lewis XIII. and XIV., to the whole succession; but choosing, rather than to depend upon these titles, to take the part of the Elector of Bavaria, he insisted that, in his guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, by the clause "*sine præjudicio tertii*," he was fairly left at liberty to espouse any claims that should appear to him more just than those of the Archduchess, Queen of Hungary. This clause had, indeed, been introduced into some of the acts of guaranty though not into all.

10. The most forward and active of the Queen's opponents was a prince little known till then, Frederic King of Prussia, at that time about twenty-eight years of age. He had succeeded, through the prudence of his father, to an army and a treasury of no inconsiderable importance; both of which he had himself also found time to improve, having been born with

every disposition to take advantage of such an inheritance and such a command of power; his movements were sudden, and quite unexpected by the court of Vienna; and he soon made known what his demands were, proposing that if they should be granted, he would support Austria against other enemies, and assist the Queen in placing her husband on the Imperial throne. He pretended, indeed, at first, to be only desirous of occupying Silesia, as a friend to the Queen; but the mask was soon laid aside, and his fixed determination to become master of Lower Silesia rendered visible to all the world.

11. The Queen would consent to the surrender of no part of her inheritance, though it is likely that her refusal, in this instance occasioned the alliance soon afterwards formed between the court of Versailles and Frederic, from which she suffered so much. England, it is said, counselled submission in the point of Silesia, foreseeing the consequences; but worse consequences, perhaps, were to be apprehended, had she complied. It would, in all likelihood, have disposed others to urge their claims with greater importunity.

12. Aided by France and Saxony, the Elector of Bavaria, towards the middle of the year 1741, acquired possession of the kingdom of Bohemia,

and was proclaimed King, and inaugurated with great solemnity; and, on the 12th of February, 1742, he had the Imperial dignity conferred on him by the Diet of Frankfort, under the title of CHARLES VII., having been chosen, however, when some of the electors were disqualified from voting.

13. Never was there a greater prospect of a total dismemberment of the Austrian dominions than at this time. Different parts were regularly assigned to the several claimants, and nothing left for the daughter of Charles VI. but the kingdom of Hungary, the province of Lower Austria, the Belgian states, and the duchies of Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola. Precautions had even been taken to prevent her deriving any aid from Russia, by exciting Sweden to declare war against the latter power. But the spirit of this surprising woman was not to be broken by the powerful combination against her. She had, at the very commencement of her reign, in a singular and extraordinary manner, and with consummate wisdom, particularly by taking the ancient oath of King Andrew II., attached to her interests the brave Hungarians. Repairing to them with her infant son, she threw herself entirely upon their protection, and, in the most public manner, addressing them in

the Latin language, at a special assembly of the States, presented her child to them in terms the most pathetic. Supported by their valour, and with the help of English and Dutch money, she baffled all her enemies, and finally dissipated the storm that so rudely threatened her. It was not, indeed, until Walpole was removed from the English ministry that the Queen received any active assistance from the King of England; but afterwards, both in Flanders and Italy, he was a powerful ally. She also derived some succours from the King of Sardinia, not, however, very creditably purchased with regard to Genoa.

14. Had the numerous powers first armed against Maria Theresa, or intimidated into a state of neutrality, agreed amongst themselves, it would have been impossible for the Queen to have withstood their attacks; but, fortunately for her, many stood so directly in a state of rivalship towards each other, and France was such an object of suspicion and alarm to almost all the other confederates, that their very first movements produced jealousies and divisions amongst them; and, what is very remarkable, the earliest who showed a disposition to treat with the Queen was the King of Prussia, in conse-

quence of the successes of the Elector of Bavaria in Bohemia.

15. The interference of England in behalf of the Queen, did at first, indeed, only exasperate France, and the other allies of Charles VII., and excite them to a more vigorous opposition. But the death of the Emperor, in the year 1745, who had derived no happiness, but indeed a great deal of misery, from his short exaltation, and his son's prudent and wise abandonment of such high dignities, in order to secure his quiet possession of his paternal dominions, left the Queen at liberty to procure for her husband, Francis, Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Imperial crown; his election to which took place in the month of September of the same year; the Queen agreeing to admit the young Elector of Bavaria to the full possession of his hereditary dominions, and to acknowledge his father, Charles VII., to have been duly invested with the Imperial dignity. After some signal successes, the Queen's great adversary, the King of Prussia, also came into her terms, having agreed in a treaty concluded at Dresden, to acknowledge the validity of Francis's election, on being put in possession of Silesia and the county of Glatz, the chief objects for which he had been contending. The

Elector Palatine was likewise included in this treaty.

16. The French continued the war in the Netherlands, as well as in Italy, and with considerable success; but the Queen being a good deal disembarrassed by the peace she had been able to conclude with Prussia, had it soon in her power to recover all that the French and Spaniards had acquired in Italy, while the French conquests in Flanders and Holland led to the re-establishment of the Stadtholdership, and thereby baffled all their hopes of future advantages in those parts. The interference of the Empress of Russia, subsidized by England, and, above all, the peculiar situation of the King of France, whose finances were almost exhausted, and who had suffered severe losses by sea, tended to bring matters to an issue. A congress was opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, which, though rather slow in its operations, at last terminated in a peace, concluded October 7. 1748, exactly a hundred years after the famous treaty of Westphalia, which served for a basis of the negotiations entered into upon this occasion. By this convention, as in most other instances of the same nature, there was so general a restitution of conquests, as plainly to mark the folly and in-

justice of having continued the war so long. During this contest, in the year 1743, died the Cardinal de Fleury, first minister of France, at the very advanced age of ninety. He did not assume the reins of government till he was seventy-three. He had many virtues, but was much more admired by his countrymen for his integrity and disinterestedness, than for energy of character, or public spirit.

17. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle bringing us, as nearly as can be, to the middle of the eighteenth century, it may be well to take a view of Europe at this particular period, and as connected with this celebrated treaty; but this must be reserved for a future section.

IV.

ENGLAND FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE II. TO THE THRONE, 1727, TO HIS DEATH, 1760.

1. The accession of George II., who came to the throne 1727, in the 44th year of his age, and in a time of profound peace, was not attended with such changes as many had expected. Even the minister himself, Sir Robert Walpole, is said

to have been surprized at the reception he met with from His Majesty, on the demise of the late King, and at the continuance of power in his hands. But this is now known to have been owing to the wise and prudent care of Queen Caroline, who, at this moment, was found to possess an influence over her royal consort, which had been by many little suspected, but which her extreme good sense, and discreet conduct, seemed fully to justify. The Whigs might justly be considered as the truest friends of the House of Hanover and the Protestant church; and their continuance in power, at the commencement of a new reign, though very grating to the adverse party, seemed to be extremely favourable to the quiet of the nation.

2. The good-will which had sprung up, and been encouraged during the Regency, between the rival courts of Versailles and London, was not materially disturbed during the whole adminstration of Walpole, and his pacific contemporary, Cardinal Fleury; the Queen being also friendly to peace. But as it is not easy for any peaceable government long the escape the encroachments of other states, Spain, apparently presuming on the forbearance or apathy of the British ministry, committed great depredations,

for a series of years, upon the trade of England with America and the West-Indies, committing many acts of most atrocious cruelty, in addition to their other deeds of insult and plunder. Some steps were at length taken to remedy these evils, but the conduct of Spain was so generally resented by the nation, as to render even the convention, by which the disputes were referred to arbitration, extremely unpopular. It being thought, by many of all descriptions, not only that the grievances complained of had been too long submitted to and endured, and the measures hitherto taken to redress them been too tame and submissive, but that nothing less than a war could restore the lost consequence of the state, or bring such offenders to reason.

3. The Spaniards, indeed, had defended their conduct in many memorials, pretending that the English were the aggressors, in carrying on a contraband and unlawful trade with their colonies; but had this been capable of proof to the extent the Spaniards pretended, which was certainly not the case, there is no doubt but that they suffered themselves to be hurried into most unjustifiable excesses in their measures of reprisal, and exceedingly ill-treated both the merchants and sailors of England. They insisted

upon a general right of search, on the open seas, and condemned the ships and cargoes, upon such frivolous pretences as could not fail to be extremely injurious and oppressive, and quite contrary to existing treaties. In one instance, a whole fleet of English merchant-ships, at the island of Tortugas, was attacked by Spaniards, as if the two nations had been at open war.

4. It would be scarcely possible, perhaps, to justify entirely the extraordinary forbearance of the British government, for nearly twenty years, during which not only these indignities had been continually repeated, but express engagements, and promises to redress and abstain from such aggressions in future, notoriously violated. This had been remarkably the case with respect to the stipulations of the treaty of Seville, concluded in the year 1729. There were very warm debates in Parliament on the subject, and the ministry were hard pressed to defend themselves from the charge of supineness, gross indifference to the sufferings of the merchants, and the honour of the crown, and, in some instances, even of criminal connivance. And, indeed, their opponents obtained, at length, this triumph over them, that the very conven-

tion which was to be the preliminary of a perfect adjustment of differences, and a surety for the indemnification of the merchants for all their losses, was, like every preceding treaty and compact, disregarded by Spain, and war obliged to be declared before the year was out, to compel her to more just and equitable measures. The war, however, was not so successful as to render it clear that the pacific and wary proceedings of the British minister were otherwise than most prudent and wise, considering the general circumstances of Europe. "Omnia prius experiri verbis quam armis sapientem decet," is a maxim which has been applied to the conduct of Sir Robert Walpole, by an author, not backward to admit that, on some points, in regard to continental politics, the pacific system was carried too far. The period during which it prevailed will, certainly, for ever be a remarkable æra in English history, especially as the reigning sovereign was notoriously a soldier, and by no means personally disposed to adopt so inactive a line of conduct.

5. Though the people had been clamorous for the war with Spain, they were soon dissatisfied with the conduct of it, and that to so great a degree, as to compel the minister, Sir Robert Walpole, though with considerable reluctance,

to resign his appointments; which took place in February, 1742; the approbation of his Sovereign being manifested in his elevation to the peerage, by the title of Earl of Orford. He was succeeded by Lord Carteret. Sir Robert Walpole had been an able, intelligent, and prudent minister; a constant lover of peace, in the way of defence and prevention; and upon this he prided himself: he was of the whig party, which exposed him much to the rancour, not only of those whose political opinions were different, but of many disappointed persons who thought with him. By these he was stigmatised as having reduced corruption to a system; but, by others, this charge was as confidently repelled; nor would it be difficult to prove that, though he often spoke as if he knew every man's price, he governed, not by corruption, but by party attachments, as his friends and admirers have alleged. Upon two great occasions his plans were thwarted by some who lived to see and correct their errors, as was the case, particularly, with Mr. Pitt, in regard to the excise bill, first proposed to the House of Commons in the year 1732. There was never, perhaps, a case in which party, faction, and ignorance prevailed more over truth, and justice,

and prudence. The bill was calculated to check and control the most gross and pernicious frauds upon the revenue; to favour and encourage, in every possible manner, the fair dealer, (and through him the public in general,) and by the savings produced in the treasury, materially to lighten the public burthens: yet such a clamour was raised against the measure, from its first suggestion, as to oblige the minister to abandon it.

6. The other measure, which brought great odium on this able minister of finance, was his trespass on the sinking fund, first established in 1727, and which he made no scruple to alienate for public purposes, as occasion seemed to require. The very name of this fund is not equally applicable to all times. At first it arose entirely from savings, and its perpetual or uninterrupted operation under such circumstances, would appear to have been an indispensable part of its character. It had been calculated as proceeding upon the basis of compound interest; while new loans and debts, contracted for pressing emergencies, were held to burthen the public in the way of simple interest only. But in these days, the whole state of the question is changed. The modern sinking fund is not a sinking fund

of surpluses or savings, but in itself a *borrowed* fund; of great power and great utility, occasionally, but plainly at the command of the public, whenever the current expenses cannot be provided for at a less cost; and, indeed, often beneficially to be applied to such purposes, in greater or less proportions, to the avoidance of many heavy charges of management, high premiums, and new taxes. The alienation of the original sinking fund, by Sir Robert Walpole, however, has been very ably defended since, though opposed and resisted, at the time, with a virulence and animosity exceedingly distressing to that judicious and discerning minister.

7. The new administration, which came into power on the resignation of Walpole, so little answered the expectations of their friends, deviated so soon from the principles they had avowed, while in opposition, and seemed so much more disposed to espouse the cause of Hanover, at the expense and to the loss of England, in useless subsidies and foreign wars, than to attend to the domestic difficulties under which she was supposed to be labouring, that they became, in a very short time, quite as unpopular as their predecessors, and in 1745, the very year in which Walpole died, the rebellion broke out in Scotland.

8. This attempt against the House of Hanover, undertaken by the heir of the Stuart family, in person, was undoubtedly, an ill conducted, as it was ultimately an unsuccessful, enterprise; though to call it altogether a weak one, would be contrary to historical truth. Its commencement, indeed, had all the appearance of the most romantic infatuation, but in its progress it became so formidable, as even to threaten the capital of England, and the protestant succession; nor was it subdued without great efforts and exertions on the part of the King's forces, so unavailing and disheartening at first, as to render the issue of the contest extremely problematical. It was, in fact, at the beginning, despised and neglected by the Lords of the Regency, in the absence of the King, who was then at Hanover, so that time was given for such an accession of friends and adherents to the cause of the Pretender, while the English army was left without any adequate reinforcements, that the rebels not only got possession of Edinburgh, after a very severe but most successful action with the English, at Preston Pans, but were able to march, unmolested, far into England, and even to retreat, in the face of a powerful army, under circumstances peculiarly

creditable to the prowess, humanity, and military skill of the Scottish commander.

9. Had the young prince met with the encouragement he expected on his march to the south, he might have possessed himself of the English, as he had done of the Scotch, capital; but his hopes of aid were, considering all things, strangely and cruelly disappointed. Not a soul joined him, of any importance, though he had advanced nearly to the very centre of the kingdom; while the French failed to fulfil their engagement of invading the southern parts of the island, in order to divide and occupy the English army, so that his retreat became a point of prudence perfectly inevitable, however mortifying and grating to the gallant spirit of Charles, who undoubtedly manifested a strong disposition to proceed against all obstacles.

10. The conflict between the two nations, on this occasion, was greatly affected by the religious tenets and principles of the opposing parties. Had Scotland been entirely catholic, the hopes of the Stuart family would have been extremely reasonable; but it was, at this period, divided between the presbyterians and the catholics; the Lowlanders being of the former sect, and the Highlanders generally speaking of the latter. The

presbyterians, who had gained great advantages, in the way of toleration, by the revolution, having become whigs in principle, naturally adhered to the House of Hanover, while the catholic Highlanders were quite as fully and as naturally inclined to support their native Prince. Nothing could be wiser, perhaps, under these circumstances, than the sending a prince of the blood to command the British forces, and, as it happened, no officer of the British army could be more popular than the Duke of Cumberland, at this very period. His Royal Highness joined the army at Edinburgh, not long after the battle of Falkirk, in which the English, under General Hawley, had recently sustained a check. The Duke, indeed, had been expressly recalled from Flanders, to suppress the rebellion, which was, in no small degree, detrimental and injurious to the cause of the allies.

11. The conduct of the son of the Pretender was certainly that of a brave but inconsiderate young man. Sanguine in his expectations, beyond what any circumstances of the case would completely justify, he, in more instances than one, committed himself too far, and at the very last exposed himself to a defeat, which might, at least, have been suspended or miti-

gated, if not totally avoided. He made a stand against the King's forces at Culloden, while his troops were in a bad condition for fighting, and when it would obviously have been better policy to have acted on the defensive; to have retired before his adversary, till he had led him into the more impracticable parts of the Highlands, where all his military means would have been crippled, and a retreat, perhaps, at least, have been rendered indispensably necessary; but by risking the battle of Culloden (April 16, 1746) he lost every thing. The Duke of Cumberland gained a most decisive victory; and so completely subdued the hopes and spirits of his young opponent, that he never afterwards joined his friends, though solicited and, indeed, engaged so to do; but wandering about the country for a considerable time, with the price of 30,000*l.* set on his head, after enduring incredible hardships and difficulties, embarked for France; and thus terminated for ever the struggles of that exiled and deposed family to recover its ancient dominions. The very remarkable instances of attachment, fidelity, and pure hospitality, by which, after the battle of Culloden, the unfortunate fugitive was preserved from the hands of his pursuers, surpass any thing of the kind recorded in history, and

reflect indelible credit on the high and disinterested feelings and principles of those who assisted him in his escape.

12. The most melancholy circumstance attending this rash undertaking, was the necessity that arose for making examples of those who had abetted it, in order more securely to fix on the throne of Great Britain the reigning family; who, having acquired that right in the most constitutional manner, could not be dispossessed of it, but by an unpardonable violation of the law. Of the excesses committed by the English troops after the battle of Culloden, it is to be hoped, as indeed it has been asserted, that the accounts are exaggerated, but in the common course of justice, many persons, and some of the highest rank, underwent the sentence of death for high treason, whose crime, through a melancholy infatuation, must in their own eyes have appeared the very reverse, and whose loyalty and attachment, under different circumstances, and with the law and constitution on their side, would have deserved the highest praise. Though many of the adherents of the Pretender suffered, many of them made their escape beyond sea, and arrived safely at different ports of the Continent. No attempts

have since been made by any of the catholic descendants of the royal family of Great Britain to disturb the protestant succession in the house of Brunswick.

13. This illustrious house sustained a very unexpected and melancholy loss in the year 1750, by the death of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, father of his late Majesty; who, in consequence of a cold caught in his gardens at Kew, died of a pleuritic disorder on the twentieth day of March, in the forty-fifth year of his age. He was a prince endowed with many amiable qualities; a munificent patron of the arts, a friend to merit, and sincerely attached to the interests of Great Britain.

14. In the course of the year 1751, a remarkable act was passed in parliament, for correcting the calendar, according to the Gregorian computation. It was enacted, that the new year should begin on the first of January, and that eleven days between the second and fourteenth days of September, 1752, should for that time be omitted, so that the day succeeding the second, should be called the fourteenth of that month. This change was on many accounts exceedingly important, but to persons wholly unacquainted with astronomy, it ap-

peared a strangely arbitrary interference with the currency and settled distinctions of time.

15. Though the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, may be said to have restored peace to Europe, the English and French came to no good understanding, with regard to their remote settlements. The war in those parts involved the interests of the natives or settlers, as well as of the two courts, and scarcely seems to have fallen under the consideration of the negotiating ministers. In the East and in the West many disputes and jealousies were raised, which, though referred to special commissioners to adjust, in no long course of time involved both countries in a fresh war, the particulars of which will be found elsewhere: a war, which extended to all parts of the globe, and continued beyond the reign of George II., who died suddenly at Kensington, in 1760, in the 77th year of his age, and 34th of his reign.

16. George II. was a prince of high integrity, honour, and veracity, but of a warm and irritable temper, of a warlike disposition, and though for a long time restrained by his pacific minister, Sir Robert Walpole, from taking any active part in the disputes of the Continent, yet constantly inclined to do so, from an attach-

ment, very natural, though unpopular amongst his British subjects, to his German dominions. He was greatly under the influence of his queen, while she lived, "whose mild, prudent, and conciliating manners," to use the words of a very impartial and judicious biographer, "were more congenial to the character of the English nation." Queen Caroline had, indeed, many great and splendid virtues; though of most amiable and domestic habits, she was well versed in the politics of Europe, and had considerable literary attainments, which disposed her to be a friend to learned persons, particularly to many members of the church, of which several striking and remarkable instances have been recorded. It is sufficient to mention the names of Herring, Clarke, Hoadley, Butler, Sherlock, Hare, Secker, and Pearce. She was the daughter of John Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburgh Anspach, and was born in the year 1683. She was married to His Majesty in 1705, and had issue two sons and five daughters. Her death, which occasioned great grief to her royal consort and family, took place on the 20th of November, 1733, when she was in the 55th year of her age.

V.

STATE OF EUROPE AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, 1748.

1. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle the house of Hanover was effectually established on the throne of Great Britain, to the entire exclusion of the Stuart family. Though the peace was not popular in England, and she was supposed, by many, to have made too great, and in some instances, ignominious concessions, yet it was certainly fortunate for her that the continental powers confined their views to a balance which did not extend to the sea; and thereby left in her hands a force beyond calculation superior to that of the other countries of Europe, and amounting almost to a monopoly of commerce, credit and wealth, so as to render her, as it were, the chief agent or principal, in all political movements, for the time to come. Her prosperity, indeed, had been on the increase, in no common degree, from the accession of the Brunswick family.

2. Austria lost, by the treaty of 1748, Silesia and Glatz, the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and

Guastalla, and some places in the Milanese: but she succeeded, and chiefly at the expence of her allies, in the article of the succession. All former treaties were formally recognised, which involved indeed other losses to the empire, if compared with the time of Charles V.; but the dominions of the latter were certainly too extensive, and too detached to form a great and stable empire. This, indeed, may be said to have been the case with regard even to the reduced domains of Charles VI.; but his high-spirited daughter, Maria Theresa, was to the last indignant at the losses she had sustained. She corrected the error into which she had fallen with regard to Genoa, and which occasioned great commotions there, by consenting to let the Marquisate of Final revert to that republic, which had been very arbitrarily given, in the course of the war, as a bribe to the King of Sardinia, and made a free port, to the evident disadvantage of the Genoese, who had originally purchased it for a valuable consideration, under the guaranty of Great Britain.

3. Prussia gained by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Silesia and the county of Glatz, which were guaranteed to her by all the contracting powers; and by this accession of territory she

was raised into the condition of a power capable of entering into the field of action, as a rival of Austria; which might have been foreseen, when Leopold erected it into a kingdom, for the express purpose of counterbalancing the power of France. As it was, the unity of the empire seemed to be dissolved, and a door set open to future revolutions in the Germanic body. The character and subsequent achievements of Frederick II. contributed greatly to the aggrandizement of his dominions. He was active, bold, fond of glory, and indefatigable. He was brave in the field, and wise in the cabinet. Desirous of shining in all that he undertook, he was indefatigable in keeping his army constantly ready for all emergencies, and in repairing the damages to which his dominions had been subjected by his ambition. He drew to him many eminent persons of all countries, of whose society he pretended to be fond; but he oftentimes showed himself to be a most merciless tyrant, a blunderer in political economy, and, if not quite an atheist, very lax in his principles of religion.

4. *Holland* lost much by the peace, and gained nothing. Some, indeed, doubted whether she did not greatly endanger her independence,

by consenting to make the Stadtholdership hereditary in the House of Orange, and that in favour of the female as well as male heirs of the family: but others conceived that this approach to monarchical government greatly strengthened the republic; and it would, indeed, seem that it had declined much in power and consequence, from the very period when that office was abolished in the preceding century. One precaution was adopted with regard to the female heirs to the Stadtholdership: they were precluded from marrying any King, or Elector of the empire; a precaution which there were, in the history of Europe, sufficient reasons to justify.

5. *Spain* obtained, for two branches of her royal family, the kingdom of Naples, and the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla: the latter to revert to Austria, that is, Parma and Guastalla, and Placentia to Sardinia, should the new Duke, Don Philip, die without issue, or succeed to either of the kingdoms of Spain or Naples. But the power of Spain was not much increased, either by land or sea. On the latter, indeed, the English had an overwhelming superiority; and, on land, though her armies were brave, they were generally ill conducted,

and her government too bad to render her respectable in the eyes of Europe. Ferdinand VI., indeed, the successor of Philip, who came to the throne just before the conclusion of the treaty, applied himself, with no small degree of credit, to retrieve the character of the nation.

6. Austria, by seeking an alliance with *Russia*, had introduced the latter power into the southern states of Europe, and given her considerable weight and consequence, as a counterbalance to her great rival, France. Scarcely known at the commencement of the century, the movement impressed upon this mighty empire, by the extraordinary genius and vigour of Peter the First, had carried her forward, with a rapid progression; so that, by the middle of the century, she might justly be regarded as amongst the most considerable powers of Europe. Her armies were, perhaps, more than semi-barbarous; but they were brave, indefatigable, hardy, and supported by the religious principle of predestination; the foundation of a desperate kind of hardihood, seldom to be resisted. Her internal resources were not at all considerable, but they were daily improving. When Peter the First came to the crown, her revenues

amounted to six millions of roubles; in 1748 they were nearly quadrupled. Thus rapidly advancing, with one arm reaching to the Baltic, and the other to the Black Sea, it was very obvious to discern that when, by good management, her gigantic body should be duly invigorated, she had every chance of becoming a most formidable power. Already had she shown herself such, to a great degree, in the influence she had acquired in Sweden, Denmark, and Poland; in her commercial treaties with England, her alliance with Austria, and her wars with the Turks. Her resources and means of improvement were great; rivers, not only navigable during the summer, but during the winter also, affording, by means of sledges, every opportunity of a quick and easy transport of all sorts of commercial goods; the greater part of her southern provinces fertile, and requiring little culture; mines of gold, iron, and copper; great quantities of timber, pitch, tar, and hemp. She had not yet learned to manufacture her own productions, or to export them in her own ships, and, consequently, to make the most of them: but she was in the way to learn such arts, and, when once attained, she had the fairest prospects of acquiring a decided superiority, not only in

the Baltic, and White Sea, but on the Black Sea and Caspian.

7. Turkey, at the middle of the eighteenth century, was comparatively a gainer by the wars in which she had been engaged. She had taken the Morea from the Venetians, recovered from Austria, Belgrade, Servia, and some provinces of Transylvania and Wallachia, and had hitherto baffled the attempts of Russia to get absolute possession of the Crimea, and of the mouths of the Danube.

8. France obtained little in point of extent by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, but that little was of extreme importance. The possession of Lorraine, in addition to Alsace, and several strong forts on the Rhine, strengthened and completed, in the most perfect manner, her eastern frontier, and placed her in a most commanding attitude with regard to the German states. During the administration of Cardinal Fleury, which lasted till the year 1743, her marine had been deplorably neglected, while the English had been able to enrich themselves at the expence of the French, particularly by intercepting many valuable convoys, and capturing many ships of her reduced navy.

9. An author of reputation has proposed to throw the different European states, at the conclusion of the peace of 1748, into the four following classes: —

1. Those that having armies, fleets, money, and territorial resources, could make war without foreign alliances. Such were England and France.

2. Those, that with considerable and powerful armies, were dependent on foreign resources. Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

3. Those that could not engage in war, but in league with other states, subsidized by them, and always regarded in the light of secondary powers, by the large ones. Portugal, Sardinia, Sweden, Denmark.

4. Such as were interested in maintaining themselves in the same condition, and free from the encroachment of others. Switzerland, Genoa, Venice, and the German states.

Holland, Spain, and Naples, being omitted in the above account, might reasonably be thrown into a fifth class, as countries generally so connected with England, France, and Austria, as to be constantly involved in every war, affecting either of those countries.

VI.

OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, 1755—1762.

1. THOUGH for some short time after the conclusion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, England and France seemed to enjoy, in no common degree, the blessings of Peace, and to be upon a footing of perfect amity with each other, yet it would appear that the seeds of a future war were sown in the very circumstances of that convention. England was left in possession of such a preponderating force at sea, while the French marine, through the parsimony or inattention of Cardinal Fleury, had fallen into so low a state of depression, that it is not to be wondered that all who were interested about the latter, should have their minds filled with jealousy and resentment. This was soon manifested, not only by the vigorous attempts made at this time to restore the marine of France, but in the projects formed for dispossessing the English of their principal settlements in the East Indies and America; a blow which might have been far more fatal to the English nation,

than any leagues or confederacies in favour of the Pretender. To secure the co-operation and support of Spain in these designs, France had endeavoured, in the year 1753, to draw the latter into a *Family Compact*, which, though afterwards brought about, was, at this time, successfully frustrated by the extraordinary care and vigilance of the British Minister at Madrid.

2. The peace established in Europe in 1748, can scarcely be said to have ever been effectually extended to Asia and America. The conquests on each side indeed had been relinquished and surrendered by that treaty, but in a most negligent manner with respect to limits and boundaries; and in each of those distant settlements, France at that time happened to have able and enterprising servants, who thought they saw, in their respective governments, such means of aggrandising themselves and their country, and of thwarting the British interests, as were not to be overlooked or neglected. In the East Indies very extraordinary attempts were made to reduce the whole peninsula of India Proper, in short the whole Mogul empire, under the dominion of France, by an artful interfer-

ence in the appointment of the governors of kingdoms and provinces, the *Soubahdars*, *Nabobs*, and *Rajahs*. The power of the Mogul had been irrevocably shaken by Kouli-Khan, in 1738, from which time the vice-roys and other subordinate governors had slighted his authority, and, in a greater or less degree, become independent. The interference of the French was calculated to throw things into confusion, by dispossessing those who were adverse to them, of their governments and territories, and thus compelling them, as it were, too seek succour from the English; which ultimately brought the two rival nations of Europe into a state of hostility, not as avowed principals, but as the auxiliaries of the different native princes or nabobs. In no long course of time, things took a turn entirely in favour of the English and their allies; the French were baffled in all their projects, every place they possessed taken from them, a suspension of arms agreed upon, in 1754, and the French governor Dupleix, the ambitious and enterprizing author and fomentor of all the troubles, but who had been ill-supported by his government at home, recalled from India.

3. It was at this period that the celebrated Mr. Clive, afterwards Lord Clive, first distinguished himself, who had not only discernment enough to see through and detect all the artifices and designs of Dupleix, but, though not brought up to the military profession, soon displayed such skill and courage in conducting the operations of the army, as speedily established his fame, and laid the foundation for his future elevation and glory.

4. In America, the boundaries of the ceded provinces not having been justly defined in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the French had formed a design of connecting, by a chain of forts, their two distant colonies of Canada and Louisiana, and to confine the English entirely within that tract of country which lies between the Alleghany and Apalachian mountains and the sea. No part of this design could be carried on without manifest encroachment on territories previously, either by agreement, settlement, or implication, appropriated to others! Where the boundaries were not precisely defined, all that was not English or French belonged to the native tribes, and the only policy that the European colonists had to observe, was to con-

ciliate the friendship, or resist the attacks of these ferocious neighbours. But the scheme the French had in agitation threatened to be extremely injurious to the English colonists; giving them, in case of war, a frontier of fifteen hundred miles to defend, not merely against a race of savages, as heretofore, but against savages supported by disciplined troops, and conducted by French officers.

5. It was not possible for England long to contemplate these aggressions and projects without interfering; but her means of resisting them were not equal to those by which the French were enabled to carry them into execution. The English colonies were notoriously divided by distinct views and interests; had many disagreements and differences amongst themselves, which seemed, for some time at least, totally to prevent their acting in concert, however necessary to their best interests. The French depended on no such precarious support, but were united both in their object and operations. Hostilities, however, did not actually commence till the year 1755, from which period the contest in North America was carried on with various success, between the French and English,

severally assisted by different tribes of Indians. In the course of which, it is more than probable, that sad acts of cruelty may have been perpetrated, and both nations have been to blame in some particulars; but it is certainly remarkable, that each party stands charged *exclusively* with such atrocities by the historians of the adverse side; and while the English writers attribute the whole war to the intrigues and encroachments of the French, the latter as confidently ascribe it to the cupidity and aggressions of the English. It is very certain, however, that, before the war actually commenced, the French court made such strong but insincere professions of amity and a desire of peace, as to deceive its own minister at the court of St. James's, M. de Mirepoix, who felt himself so ill-treated in being made the tool of such duplicity and dissimulation, as to cause him to repair to Paris, to remonstrate with the administration, who had so cajoled him. It is necessary to mention these things, where historical truth is the great object in view.

6. At the commencement of this contest between France and England, the former seems to have been most successful on land; but the

latter, and to a much greater degree, at sea. Before the end of the first year of the war, no less than three hundred French merchant vessels, some of them extremely rich, with eight thousand sailors, being brought into the English ports; and while the rate of insurance in the latter country continued as usual, in France it quickly rose to 30 per cent., a pretty strong indication of the comparative inferiority of the latter, as far as regarded her marine, and the safety of navigation.

7. But it was soon found expedient by one, if not by both parties, to divert the attention from colonial to continental objects; a measure, which, as in a former instance, the French writers ascribe entirely to England, and the English writers as confidently to France; but it is sufficiently clear that the latter first entertained views upon the electorate of Hanover, which gave that turn to the war in general. Considering what had passed in the preceding struggle upon the continent, nothing could be more strange than the conduct of the different states of Europe on this particular occasion! Instead of receiving assistance from the Empress Queen, whose cause England had so long and magnanimously supported, and who was bound by treaty

to contribute her aid in case of attack, Maria Theresa evaded the applications made to her by the court of St. James's, (perhaps in rather too high and peremptory a tone) on the pretence that the war between France and England had begun in America; and she applied herself with peculiar assiduity to recover, through the aid of Russia, the provinces of Silesia and Glatz, which had been ceded to the Prussian monarch.

8. It has been conjectured that her Imperial Majesty had been greatly offended at the preliminaries of peace, in 1748, having been signed by England without her approbation, and that she was capable of carrying her resentment so far as voluntarily to throw herself into the arms of France, without further consideration; while the French king, whose strange course of life had been too openly ridiculed by the King of Prussia, foolishly suffered himself to be cajoled into an alliance with Austria, after three hundred years of warfare, against his former active and powerful ally; thereby breaking through the wise system of Richelieu, and helping to raise the very power, of whose greatness France had the most reason to be jealous; but Maria Theresa, and her minister, Prince Kaunitz, to produce this great change in the policy of France, had

stooped to flatter and conciliate the King's mistress, the marchioness of Pompadour.

9. Fortunately for England, however, the conduct of these two courts quickly determined the King of Prussia to form an alliance with the Elector of Hanover; to stifle and forget all former differences and animosities, and peremptorily to resist the entrance of foreign troops into Germany; a measure which, though first directed against Russia, subsidized by England, equally applied to France. An alliance between the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia had long been contemplated by some of the ablest statesmen of the former country, as the most natural and wisest connection that could be formed to counteract the projects and power of France, Hitherto strong personal jealousies and ill-will on the part of the two Sovereigns, had prevented any such union, and now it was brought about by accident; much more, however, to the advantage of Prussia than of Great Britain. It had been proposed in England, to subsidize Russia, but the negotiations of the former with the King of Prussia, whom the Czarina personally disliked, produced a close but unexpected union of Russia, Austria, and France; not so much against England, perhaps, as against Prussia, nor

yet so much against the kingdom of Prussia, as against the King himself.

10. Such was the commencement of what has been termed the seven years' war. It seemed soon to be forgotten that it was originally a maritime or colonial war. The whole vengeance of France and Austria, in 1757, was directed against the king of Prussia, and Electorate of Hanover. The Prussian Monarch, relying on his well-organized army and abundant treasury, despised the powerful combination against him, and commenced the war in a most imposing, though precipitate, manner, by dispossessing, at the very outset, the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, in alliance with Austria, of his capital, of his whole army, and of his Electoral dominions, in a way little creditable to his character, notwithstanding the strong political motives alleged in his subsequent manifestoes. The situation of France, by this sudden manœuvre, was certainly rendered most extraordinary. At the commencement of the former war, she had done her utmost to dethrone Augustus, King of Poland, in favour of Stanislaus, whose daughter had married the French King; and she had now just as strong and urgent a reason to assist in restoring Augustus to his hereditary

dominions, the daughter of the latter being married to the Dauphin, and the life of the Dauphiness having been endangered by the intelligence received of the rigorous treatment of her royal parents.

11. It was during the SEVEN years' war, that Frederic of Prussia acquired that glory in the field which has rendered his reign so conspicuous and remarkable. The intended victim, as he had great reason to suppose, of an overwhelming confederacy of crowned heads, he lost no time in defending himself against their attacks, by occupying the territories of those who threatened him, so suddenly and arbitrarily indeed, with regard to Saxony, as to give offence to the greater part of Europe; but generally contending with surprising success against superior armies, though incessantly summoned from one field of battle to another, by the numerous and divided attacks of his opponents: nor was there one of all the powers that menaced him, whom he did not find means to humble, and, in some instances, punish most severely, at first, with an impetuosity bordering upon rashness; afterwards, by more wary and circumspect proceedings. In Silesia, Saxony, Brandenbourg, Hanover, and Westphalia, he

had to contend with the armies of the Empire, Austria, Russia, Sweden, France, and Saxony: 200,000 men are supposed to have fallen annually in these campaigns. Though often worsted, (as must be the case, where no consideration of superior numbers is allowed to operate as a check,) his great genius was never more manifested, than in the quick reparation of such reverses. Often did his situation appear perfectly desperate, both to friends and enemies, yet as often did he suddenly succeed in some new effort, and in extricating himself from disasters which threatened entirely to overwhelm him; being all the while under the ban of the Empire, in virtue of a decree of the aulic council, which bound every German circle, in obedience to the Imperial orders, to assist in depriving him of his possessions, dignities, and prerogatives. The rapidity of his motions was beyond all example; neither danger nor misfortune could dishearten him; and had his moderation been but equal to his courage, had he, in all cases, been as humane as he was brave, his military character would have stood higher, perhaps, than that of any other commander, ancient or modern.

12. The allied army, it must be acknowledged, for some time afforded but little assistance to, if it did not actually embarrass, the operations of Frederic. A formidable force of 38,000 Hanoverian, Hessian, and other troops, under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, had, in a most extraordinary manner, been reduced, though neither beaten nor actually disarmed, to a state of inactivity, and the King's German dominions abandoned to the enemy, by a convention the most singular upon the records of history; and, if actually necessary, only rendered so by the impolitic movements of the commander-in-chief, who, instead of endeavouring to join the Prussians, after a sharp contest, in which the French had the advantage, retreated in a totally different direction, merely to keep up, as it has been supposed, a communication with the place to which the archives and most valuble effects of Hanover had been removed.

13. This convention indeed, signed at Closter-seven, September 8. 1757, was said to have been concluded against the wishes of the royal commander himself, and entirely at the instance and requisition of the Regency of Hanover. Be this, however, as it may, it was undoubtedly

almost fatal to the King of Prussia, and exceedingly humiliating to England, though ultimately attended with this good effect, that it seems to have roused and stimulated both the people and government to greater exertions. Unfortunately much of this good spirit and renewed activity was wasted in fruitless attempts on the coast of France, which cost the nation much money, and, as it turned out, contributed little or nothing to her glory or advantage; the demolition of the works at Cherburg, and capture of Belle Isle, 1761, which was of use afterwards, as an exchange for Minorca, being all she had to boast of. To her great and indefatigable ally, the King of Prussia, these expeditions to the French coast could be of no use, except in diverting a part at least of the French forces, which might otherwise have been opposed to him; but they had scarcely this effect; and though that great minister, Mr. Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, appears to have been the chief promoter of these measures, in opposition to many members of the British cabinet, the policy of them, even had they been more successful, has been pretty generally questioned. Her soldiers, many thought, were principally wanting in Germany, the grand theatre of military operations,

to strengthen and give effect to the judicious and bold measures of Prince Ferdinand, who, being, by the advice, it is said, of the Prussian monarch, on the retirement of the Duke of Cumberland, after the convention spoken of, placed at the head of the allied army, had succeeded in compelling the French to evacuate Hanover, Brunswick, and Bremen. England indeed had been liberal in her subsidies, even to a degree that some thought unwise and extravagant, and she had been successul in America, Asia, Africa, and generally on the ocean. The French navy, indeed, was almost annihilated; and her colonies, both in the East and West, had fallen a prey to the English armies; even Canada, the source and focus, as it were, of all the trans-Atlantic disputes between England and France, was completely subdued by the armies under the command of Wolfe, Townshend, Monckton, Murray, and Amherst, who displayed such zeal, valour, and abilities in the capture of the towns of Quebec and Montreal, as have never been exceeded.

14. Though Prince Ferdinand had driven the French back, it was doubted whether the forces under his command would be sufficient to maintain these advantages; apprehensions, indeed,

were entertained that he might be reduced to form another convention as humiliating as that of Closter-seven. But the genius and valour of this great Prince surmounted the difficulties in which he seemed to be placed, by most judiciously, and with no small art, compelling the French to come to an engagement, under circumstances peculiarly favourable to the allied army; and the battle of Minden, which took place August 1. 1759, though the subject, afterwards, of much jealousy amongst the Allies, effectually relieved the Electorate of Hanover, and the greater part of Westphalia, from the presence of the French.

15. It was at this period, August 10. 1759, that Ferdinand VI., of Spain, died, and was succeeded by his brother, Don Carlos, King of the two Sicilies, under the title of Charles III., in consequence of which succession, and according to the terms of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Don Philip should have surrendered the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla to Austria and Sardinia, and removed to Naples, (see Sect. V. § 5.); but as Charles III. had never acceded to that treaty, he left the crown of the two Sicilies to his third son, Ferdinand, and Don Philip agreed, and was allowed by Austria, to retain the three duchies; the courts of France and

Spain having managed to quiet the alarms of Sardinia, in regard to the reversion of Placentia.

16. The removal of Don Carlos to Spain, at a time when so many advantages had been gained over the French by the English, at sea and in America, justly alarmed the new monarch for his own colonies and settlements in those parts; and these apprehensions soon became a reason for his entering into a *family-compact* with France, which had been attempted before, but frustrated by the care and vigilance of the British minister. It was in fact entirely arranged and concluded in the month of August, 1761, and extended to all the *Bourbon* princes; it was a treaty of mutual and reciprocal naturalization, and equality of rights, to the subjects of all the Bourbon states, *France*, *Spain*, *the two Sicilies*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, with a general guaranty of each other's dominions, under all possible circumstances except *one*, which was, that Spain should be excused from interfering in any quarrels of France, arising out of the treaty of Westphalia, unless some *maritime* power should take part in such disputes, or France be invaded.

17. The above clause in the treaty was judged to be so evidently aimed at England, as to justify an immediate declaration of war against

Spain on the part of the former, which accordingly took place early in the year 1762; nor was Spain backward in following the example against England, in resentment, as it was alleged, of the supercilious and arbitrary manner in which the latter had interfered with regard to the *family-compact*.

18. The first fruits of this extraordinary confederacy were a gross attempt upon the independency of Portugal, as an ally of England, by France and Spain; an attempt the most appalling to Portugal, had not her brave and honourable sovereign resolved rather to perish than submit to the terms dictated to him by the combined monarchs. England was in every way bound to give aid and support to her antient and faithful ally, on so trying an occasion; and, fortunately, her help came so opportunely and so promptly, as to enable the King of Portugal to repel the Spaniards, who had not only passed the frontiers, but actually taken several towns. Thus was that monarch and his dominions saved from the effects of as wicked and arbitrary a design as was ever entertained against an independent or neutral potentate, and that on the sole ground of his connection with England at the moment; to whose resentment he would of course have

been exposed, had he tamely submitted to the tyrannical demands of France and Spain. In either case, he seemed to be threatened with ruin and destruction, had things taken a different turn, from what actually came to pass.

19. The hostilities into which Great Britain was driven by this unprovoked attack upon Portugal, as well as by the threatening aspect and spirit of the *family-compact*, which seemed to undo all that had been accomplished by the Succession-war, were in every instance crowned with success; so that in both hemispheres, her arms may be said to have been victorious, and her triumph complete; and Spain had great cause to rue her short concern in the war, into which she had been cajoled by France, and which operated as fully to the disappointment of the latter power. In the mean while, the King of Prussia, who had been brought to the very verge of ruin, according to his own statement and confession, was most unexpectedly relieved by surprising changes in the Russian councils, through the demise of Elizabeth, and accession of Peter III., whose reign indeed was too short to enable him to render any real assistance to the King of Prussia, in the field, which might have been expected from the enthusiastic admiration with which his actions were

beheld by the Russian monarch. But this weak, though benign prince, in consequence of his too extensive plans of reform, and a difference with his empress, was soon removed; and though his successor and consort, Catherine the Second, did not by any means pay the same court to Frederic, yet her opposition to him was very slight, and soon terminated by a treaty of peace, in which she was followed by Sweden.

20. All these things evidently tended towards a general peace, if England, who had certainly been the most successful of all the powers concerned, could be brought to consent to be stopped in her career of victory and triumph. A change of ministry had, however, laid the foundation for such measures. Mr. Pitt, who was for the continuance of the war on some private information, as it has been thought, of the progress and terms of the *family-compact*, had resigned soo after the demise of the King, George II.; and Lord Bute, who owed his place and power as minister, much more to the personal good-will and attachment of the new king, than to the voice and favour of the people, foreseeing that it might be difficult for him to raise either money or men for the prosecution of the war, (bounties for recruits, in particular,

having risen to an unexampled height,) and having against him many important individuals of both parties, entered freely into negotiations with France, which were brought to an issue by the peace of Paris, (or Fontainebleau,) 1763.

21. This treaty was not popular in England, though, undoubtedly, she reaped the benefit of many remarkable concessions, particularly in America, where she acquired, not only the whole province of Canada, but part of Louisiana; the junction of which two distant French settlements, to the embarrassment, and, possibly, total subjection of the English colonies, had been the express occasion of the war; but by many persons it was thought, and perhaps with great reason, that England had surrendered too much, considering the high situation in which she stood, and the advantages that might have been reaped by a little longer continuance of the war; and in what she both surrendered and retained, an ill and impolitic selection, it was alleged, had been made of posts and settlements. The treaty of Hubertsburg, by which the war was terminated between Austria and Prussia in the same year, 1763, restored matters, in regard to those two powers, exactly to their former state, after SEVEN most destructive

and expensive campaigns! Nothing of territory was lost; nothing gained. England, undoubtedly, was left in the highest state of prosperity at the conclusion of these two treaties. Her navy unimpaired, or rather augmented at the expense of the navy of France; her commerce extending from one extremity of the globe to the other, with an accession of important settlements ceded to her by France, in Asia, Africa, and America.

VII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III. 1760, TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE DISPUTES WITH AMERICA, 1764.

1. THOUGH a new enemy, for a very short time, was added to the list of those who were contending with England and her allies, when George the Second died, by the accession of Spain to the *family-compact*, and continenal confederacy, in 1761, yet the Seven Years' War, through the exhaustion of the allies of Austria, particularly the Saxons, Poles, and French, may be said to have been drawing to a conclusion,

when George III. ascended the throne of Great Britain, on the demise of his grandfather, October 25. 1760. For the termination of that war, (see Sect. VI.)

2. Much notice was taken of a passage in the King's first speech to his Parliament, in which he expressed the glory he felt in having been born and educated in Britain; and though some have pretended to see in it, a reflection on his royal predecessors, yet it was surely wise in the first sovereign of the house of Hanover, who stood clear of foreign manners, and foreign partialities, so to bespeak the love and attachment of his subjects. It is true, indeed, that England had prospered in no common degree from the first accession of that illustrious family, but it cannot be denied, that a distaste of foreign manners, as well as a jealousy of foreign partialities, had occasionally interrupted the proceedings of government, and were at all events calculated to keep up, in the minds of the disaffected, a remembrance of the breach that had been made in the succession to the throne. Fourteeen years having passed since any attempt had been made to restore the Stuart family, and the condition of that family having become such, as to render any further

endeavours to that effect extremely improbable, nothing more seemed wanting to remove all remaining prejudices against the Brunswick line of princes, than that the sovereign should be a native of the land he ruled.

3. In addition to this tie upon his subjects, every thing seemed to conspire, as far as regarded the character, manners, and disposition of the young king, to secure to him the attachment of his people; and to give hopes of a quiet and tranquil reign. One of the very first acts of which was calculated to impress the idea of his being a true friend to the liberty of the subject, by rendering the Judges *independent* of the crown. His Majesty was married, soon after his accession, to the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, with whom he was crowned at Westminster, on the 22d day of September, 1761.

4. However promising the appearances both of external and internal tranquillity might be, at the commencement of the new reign, it was not long before the nation became agitated by party disputes and differences, of no small importance. In 1762, a question arose, which though it led to very distressing tumults, terminated in the relief of the subject from an

arbitrary process, exceedingly repugnant to the spirit of the constitution, and the great charter of British liberty. General warrants, and the seizure of private papers without sufficient necessity, the legality of which had been disputed, in the case of Mr. Wilkes, member for Ailesbury, during which that gentleman displayed much personal and patriotic fortitude, though certainly with great failure of respect towards the crown, were declared to be illegal by a solemn decree of parliament, 1765, nor has any attempt been since made to reinvest the government with so dangerous and formidable a power. The question of general warrants, however, was not the only one in which Mr. Wilkes appeared as the champion of the people's liberties. Being elected for Middlesex, after having been expelled the House, he claimed his seat, in defiance of the resolutions of Parliament, but was not allowed to sit. Five years afterwards, he was permitted again to enter the House of Commons; but in this instance the Parliament maintained its power of declaring a particular individual disqualified, against the decision of a majority of electors; a curious point as affecting the constitution, and the elective franchise.

5. Though the court of Vienna, France, and

Prussia, had cause to be tired of the war, in which they had been engaged since the year 1755, it is certain that England was in a state to continue it, especially by sea, when the treaty of Paris, or Fontainebleau, was concluded, in 1763. As long as Mr. Pitt continued a member of administration, the war had been carried on vigorously, and had become exceedingly popular, so that on the resignation of that great minister, in 1761, and the appointment of Lord Bute, whose distrust of his own abilities to continue it, disposed him to listen to the overtures of France, great discontents arose. The minister was suspected of harbouring in his breast the most despotic principles, and of having inculcated the same into the mind of his sovereign, while yet a youth. He was supposed to possess too exclusive an influence in that quarter; and though, in private life, a most respectable nobleman, of great worth and probity, learning and talents, his public measures were the continual theme of obloquy and abuse. Had Mr. Pitt continued in office, it is more than probable that the Allies might have gained greater advantages on the Continent, and the Spaniards been more severely punished for their interference; so that the pacific measures of the new

minister, drew upon him the displeasure, if not the contempt, as well of his own countrymen, as of the King of Prussia also; who in his writings has inveighed greatly against the prevailing influence of the noble earl at this period, in the cabinet and councils of Great Britain.

6. The riots and tumults excited by the proceedings against Mr. Wilkes, and the extreme unpopularity of Lord Bute, contributed to render the first years of the reign of George III. exceedingly unquiet, and to involve his Majesty in many unpleasant difficulties, from the addresses, petitions, and remonstrances, which flowed in upon him, often couched in such language as it was impossible not to resent, and as often insinuating what, perhaps, was not founded on truth: for it has never yet been clearly ascertained, that the public actually suffered from any improper secret influence, or that the measures of Lord Bute, with regard to the peace of Paris, all things considered, were impolitic or unwise. The worst feature in this peace, with regard to England, seems to have been, the failure to guard against the effects, in future, of the *family compact*, which was left in full force. Mr. Pitt had his eye constantly upon this, and, had he continued in power, would, no doubt,

have continued the war with spirit and perseverance: this great minister had retired undisgraced; he received a pension indeed for himself, and a peerage for his lady. His politics, to the day of his death, continued widely different from those of Lord Bute, and were constantly more popular: but the great fault of the latter seems to have been, that he engaged in public business, contrary to the bent of his own disposition, and was too sensible of his unpopularity, to undertake any measures that required much public support. All he did, therefore, *seemed* to be managed in the way of private influence, cabal, and intrigue.

7. In addition to the addresses and remonstrances alluded to in the foregoing section, the popular fervour and agitation received considerable encouragement from the letters of an anonymous writer, never yet discovered,—a writer who displayed such an extraordinary knowledge of the proceedings of the court and cabinet, and had the power of expressing himself in a style so vigorous, striking, and keenly satirical, as to demand the attention of all parties, and confound the majority of those whom he personally attacked. But the extreme severity of a concealed and unknown accuser, and the gross personalities

in which he often indulged, not sparing Majesty itself, threw a cloud over his writings, which can never be done away, to the satisfaction of any candid or liberal mind. Though the mention of these celebrated letters is rather anticipated in this place, as they did not publicly appear till the year 1769, yet, as they particularly relate to the foregoing transactions, and state of affairs in the early years of the reign of George III., and long preceded the actual commencement of the war with America, the first authors of which he seemed disposed to screen, a better opportunity of introducing the subject might scarcely be found. The many fruitless, but very curious attempts that have been made, at various times, to discover the real author, have contributed, in addition to the extraordinary character of the work itself, and the political questions discussed in it, to prevent its ever sinking into oblivion. The letters of *Junius*, with all their blemishes, will probably never fail to find a place in the libraries of the British scholar, and British statesman.

8. In the prosecution of this work, it should also be noticed, that a great constitutional point came under discussion, namely, whether, in

cases of libel, the jury were judges of the *law*, as well as of the *fact*. In most other cases no such difficulty seemed to occur. In cases of murder, not only the act of killing, but the murderous intent, was submitted to the decision of the jury; and in trials for felony of every description, the course was the same. Lord Mansfield, in this case, insisted that the jury had only to decide on the fact of publication, and that the court was to determine upon the law of libel. This has generally been disputed by juries; and they have found ways of evading the difficulty, by either themselves referring the law to the judge, by a special verdict, or by pronouncing a general acquittal. Unfortunately, libels are of that description as constantly to excite those jealousies and suspicions, from which every court of justice should be free. They affect, also, two of the highest privileges of Englishmen,—the right of private judgment, and the liberty of the press. In the case of Junius, the point in dispute was by no means so settled as to obviate future differences.

9. The year 1764 is memorable for the commencement of the dispute between Great Bri-

tain and her American colonies; but as the history of this contest involves many curious questions of policy; as its results, in regard not only to England and America, but to the world in general, were very important; and its termination led to a total separation of the colonies from the mother country, thereby establishing a distinct state and government of European settlers in the western hemisphere, the details of it will be reserved for another section.

VIII.

DISPUTES BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND HER AMERICAN COLONIES. 1764—1783.

1. THE Seven Years' War, terminated by the peace of Paris, or Fontainebleau, in 1763, had been begun in *America*, as has been shown, (Sect. VI.) Great Britain, at considerable expence of men and money, had resisted the encroachments of France on the British colonies, and thereby afforded to the latter, protection, beyond what any commercial benefits, under the colonial system, could be said fully to compen-

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sate. A question therefore arose, whether the colonies might not be called upon to contribute, by direct taxation, to the relief of the general expences and burthens of the mother country, occasioned or augmented by the circumstances above mentioned. The national debt, it was argued, was truly and equitably the debt of every individual in the whole empire, whether in Asia, America, or nearer home.

2. The question, however, was no sooner started than decided by administration; chiefly through the influence and on the suggestion of Mr. George Grenville, then prime minister, who, in the very year succeeding the peace of Paris, procured the stamp-act to be passed, by which the Americans were directly subjected to a tax imposed by the British parliament without their own consent, not immediately applicable to their own wants or necessities, and contrary to every former mode of raising money for such purposes. This was certainly sufficient to excite alarm, and lead to questions of policy and prudence; of power and right; of legislation and representation; never yet so thoroughly discussed or investigated. Hitherto, without questioning the power, government had forborne from taxing them as a matter of policy

and propriety; and thus, as it was well said at the time, those two very difficult points, superiority in the presiding state, and freedom in the subordinate, had been practically reconciled.

3. The situation of America rendered these questions the more important and alarming to the mother country, in case of opposition, as having been originally peopled from Europe, in a great measure, by refugees, exiles, and persons adverse to the government, both in church and state, and well inclined, probably, to assert a republican independence. Their legislative assemblies were already of the popular cast, and their feelings and spirits accordant. It must also be admitted, that upon the very ground of pecuniary or other aids, they had much to allege in respect of their beneficial returns to England, in taking her manufactures, and having assisted her in the conquest of Canada. Most unfortunately, the very grants which had been made by their assemblies, in aid of England, during the last war, were alleged as an argument (a most irritating one, undoubtedly,) of their *ability* to pay *any* imposts the parliament might choose to lay upon them.

4. As the ministry had decided hastily upon the general question, they seem also to have suffered themselves to be precipitated into some of the worst measures they could have adopted to render their novel demands palatable. Their very first tax, imposed by the stamp-act of 1764, though simple in its principle, was ill-suited to the state of America. The mere distribution of the stamps, through such a variety of different states, involved in it a thousand difficulties; and there were provisions in the act itself, which might, if at all abused or neglected, have subjected the people to unheard-of vexations and oppressions. It is scarcely, therefore, to be wondered that, on its first promulgation in America, the act should have been received with the greatest indignation, and even with defiance.

5. In the mean time, the cause of the Americans was espoused by a strong party at home, —a party, so far from being contemptible, as to include some of the first persons of the nation, both in rank and importance. The debates in both houses were violent, but the topics discussed, in every point of view, interesting. The friends of the Americans, if it may be proper now to call them so, obtained and swayed, for a

very short period, the helm of government. In June, 1765, the Grenville administration was dismissed, and a new one, at the head of which was placed the Marquis of Rockingham, came into power, through the mediation of the Duke of Cumberland. They continued in office, however, for little more than one year; but in that short space of time, the stamp-act, which had been so ill received in America, was formally repealed.

6. But the grand question relating to the right of taxation was by no means determined by this measure: a declaratory act was particularly passed at the same time, for maintaining the constitutional authority of Great Britain, in "all cases whatsoever;" and though there was certainly no design, in those who promoted the repeal, to act upon this authority, by establishing any other tax of a similar kind, yet the colonists were prepared, as much as ever, to dispute the principle, as far as it regarded taxation; and their courage and confidence at this time stood high, in consequence of the importance which had been given to them in the last war, and their emancipation from all dread of the French and Spaniards, by the cession of Canada

and the Floridas. In the colony of Virginia the right of taxation was voted to rest entirely in the King, or his representative, and the General Assembly of the colony. This was, undoubtedly, the usual course of things; and in this way subsidies to a considerable amount had been granted to the crown. This precedent was soon followed by others of the legislative bodies, and adopted in the general congress of New York, 1765.

7. It was not pretended that the Americans paid *no* taxes; but, on the present occasion, a distinction was set up, not thought of, or at least not insisted upon before. To *external* taxation, through the operation of laws of trade and navigation, enacted in the mother country, they were willing to yield submission; they had constantly done so, nor were they now disposed to resist *such* enactments; but all internal duties for raising a revenue, or supporting establishments, were held to be very differently circumstanced. Taxes of this nature were considered as being, in the very language of parliament itself, *gifts* and *grants*. None, therefore, it was urged, could give the money of America but the people of America themselves.

If *they* chose to make such grants, they might receive a legislative sanction, as in England; but legislation and taxation were distinct things. Taxation, according to the spirit of the English constitution, implying consent, direct or by representation, could not otherwise be rendered either legal or just. Local circumstances would render the representation of America, in the British parliament impracticable; and a supposed virtual representation was no less than mockery. The representatives of England, in taxing others, taxed themselves also; but this could not be the case in regard to American imposts.

8. Such were some of the strongest reasons urged against the measure in general; but, as the *right* of taxation had not been expressly given up by any party in England, but rather insisted upon in the declaratory act, no concessions short of this seemed likely to do good. The stamp-act had caused an irritation, which no *qualified* repeal could allay: internal taxation was not only resisted as an encroachment on established rights and usages, but, in resentment of such wrongs, attempts were made to hinder the further operation even of external taxation. Non-importation, and non-consumption agreements were soon entered into, and associations

formed to methodise and consolidate the opposition to government. A resolution had been passed when Lord North was minister, promising to desist from all taxation, except commercial imposts, whenever any one of the colonial assemblies should vote a reasonable sum, as a revenue, to be appropriated by parliament; but this had no good effect.

9. In so embarrassed a state of things, it is not very surprising that the ministry at home should have entertained wrong measures, and miscalculated the effects of the plans they were pursuing. The truth of history tends to show that, however they might be embarrassed by an active opposition in parliament, that opposition fairly forewarned them of the consequences of their meditated proceedings, which came to pass exactly as they had been foretold. But after this demand had once provoked the question of right, and that question had divided the people of both countries into two strong parties, things soon fell into that state, in which it became impossible to retrieve matters, either by perseverance or concession. Every effort of coercion was resented as an illegal encroachment; every conciliatory proposition received as a proof of

alarm and timidity, and as a pledge of victory and success to future opposition.

10. It has been questioned whether independence was not in the view of the Americans from the very first stirring of the question, or even previously; but had this been the case, they would have been more prepared; their addresses to the King and Parliament, on various occasions, after the commencement of the dispute, must have been fallacious to the highest pitch of dissimulation, if they had determined against all compromise from the very beginning; but, indeed, the remonstrances and complaints of General Washington, on the ill state of his army, and total want of many essential requisites, on first taking the command, seem clearly to prove that they were driven to assert their independence by the course of things; a large portion of their fellow-subjects and countrymen on both sides of the Atlantic, judged them to be oppressed, and thus gave a character to their opposition which could not very creditably be forfeited.

11. Hostilities did not actually commence till the year 1775, ten years from the first passing of the stamp-act. In a short time after the passing of that act, it was repealed, as has been

stated; but in 1767 the project of taxing America was revived by Mr. Charles Townshend, and from that period to the commencement of the war, both countries were in a state of the greatest agitation. Debates ran high at home, and in America their gravest proceedings were accompanied with such rude threats of defiance, and such unqualified resentment of all innovations, as almost necessarily to bring them under the strong hand of power. But government underrated *their* means of resistance; when brought into a state of union, by the Congress, their force was no longer to be despised; all temporising expedients were at an end, a circumstance ill understood by the ministry at home, who lost much time in endeavouring to retrieve matters, by fruitless attempts, sometimes in the way of conciliation, and at others, of inefficient resistance. Thus, when in 1770 many commercial duties were taken off, which the mother country had an undoubted right to impose, the concession was ill received, in consequence of the single exception of *tea*, which was certainly continued as much as any thing in order to assert the rights and the supremacy of Great Britain; but this was done in a manner too imperious, and without sufficient force to

subdue the angry passions it was calculated to excite, at such a moment. At the very breaking out of the war, ministers appear to have been by far too confident of speedily suppressing so formidable an insurrection; an insurrection which had had time allowed it to organise itself, and which had drawn upon it the attention of the whole civilized world.

12. The war may be said to have actually commenced only on the 14th of April, 1775, though some English regiments had been sent to Boston so early as the year 1768. In an affair at Lexington, amounting to no more than a skirmish, the English were worsted, a circumstance calculated to give spirits to the Americans, at a most awful and momentous period. General Washington, who had distinguished himself in the war against the French, and bore a most irreproachable character, was appointed to take the command of the American army; a post of the utmost responsibility, and requiring talents, temper, and discretion, of no common description.

13. The sword being drawn, and no hopes remaining of an amicable adjustment of differences between the crown and its transatlantic subjects, now in a state of open revolt; and

the first hostilities having by no means tended to depress the military ardour of the Americans, they proceeded, by a solemn declaration of the General Congress at Philadelphia, July 4, 1776, to declare the thirteen provinces independent; by which act America may be said to have been divided from the mother country, 294 years after the discovery of that country by Columbus; 166 from the first settlement of Virginia; and 156 from the settlement of Plymouth in Massachusets Bay. From this period the proceedings of Congress became much more dignified, and the campaign of 1776 turned out favourably for the Americans, and highly to the credit of their very able and brave commander.

14. Whether it were owing to the low opinion entertained by the government at home, of the resistance likely to be offered by the Americans, or to a dislike of the cause in which they were engaged on the part of the British commanders, it is exceedingly certain, that the English army did not obtain the advantages it was supposed it might have done, or proceed as if it were able speedily to crush the rebellion that had been raised. The American troops were every day improving, and every day deriving encouragement, either from unexpected suc-

cesses, or the inactivity of the armies opposed to them. On the other hand, the English were either indulging in pleasure, when they should have been in action, or disheartened by sudden surprises or repulses, which redounded greatly to the credit of their less disciplined, and less organized opponents. In a short time, however, the war became more complicated, and opened a scene, which not only involved the continent of Europe in the conflict of the day, but probably led to changes and convulsions, as extraordinary and as extensive as even the world experienced.

15. In the month of November, 1776, the celebrated Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane had been despatched by Congress, to solicit, at the court of Versailles, the aid and assistance of French troops. According to the former course of things, nothing could be more strange than such an application, at such a court; an application from rebellious subjects, from the assertors of republican independence, to a court celebrated for the most refined despotism, and ruling a people, heretofore the grossest admirers and flatterers of regal power; an application from persons of the simplest habits; frugal, temperate, industrious, and little advanced in civil-

ization, to a court immersed in pleasure, gay and dissipated, profligate and corrupt, civilized to the highest pitch of courtly refinement, of polished manners, and of splendid luxury: lastly, an application from a people who had carried their dissent from the church of Rome farther than any Protestants in Europe, to a court still subject to the papal see, a cherished branch of the Catholic church.

16. Extraordinary, however, in all respects, as this American mission seems to have been, through the infatuation of certain high individuals of and about the French court, it met with a cordial and favourable reception. Even the Queen of France was found to espouse the cause of the revolted subjects of Great Britain, little foreseeing the handle she was giving to many keen observers of her own courtly extravagance and thoughtless dissipation. The die was soon cast; a formal treaty was entered into, acknowledging the independency of America; succour and support to a large extent promised, and officers appointed to conduct the French forces, likely, it would seem, above all others, to imbibe the spirit of freedom, which animated the Americans, and to espouse their cause upon principle. They were all noble,

indeed; but in America they were sure to be taught how vain were such distinctions, if not supported by public opinion.

17. The English Government was not formally apprised of this unexpected alliance, till the year 1778, when it received a very curious and insulting notification of it from the French ambassador. It does not appear that the aid thus obtained by the American mission, was altogether grateful to the Americans themselves, though it had the full effect of raising up new and powerful enemies against the mother country, and involving Europe in their cause; for, through the French influence, in the year 1779, Spain joined the confederacy against England, and, in 1780, Holland. In the mean while commissioners had been sent from England to America, to treat for peace, but the Americans, insisting on the previous acknowledgment of their independency, rendered their attempts fruitless.

18. Whatever loss of fame, reputation, and territory Great Britain incurred in America, her arms never shone with greater lustre than on some occasions in which she was engaged during this war, with the confederate powers of Europe; in Asia particularly, she was acquiring an empire ten times greater in wealth and popu-

lation, than all she had to lose in the West: but of all her achievements at this period, none, perhaps, was so conspicuous, none so glorious, as the defence of Gibraltar under General Elliot, afterwards Lord Heathfield, against the combined forces of Spain and France. The preparations made to recover that important fortress for Spain, exceeded every thing before known. The ultimate success of the attempt was calculated upon as so certain, that some of the French princes of the blood, repaired to the Spanish camp merely to witness its surrender. But the heroism of the troops in garrison baffled all their designs, and the timely arrival of the British fleet completed the triumph, in October, 1782. The siege (begun in 1779) was entirely abandoned, with the loss of all the Spanish floating batteries, and the defeat of the combined fleets of France and Spain, by Lord Howe. This action took place on the 20th of October: in the following month provisional articles of peace were signed at Paris, by British and American commissioners, and early in the ensuing year a treaty concluded at Versailles, between Great Britain, France, and Spain, to which, in February, Holland also acceded.

19. Towards the close of the war, many im-

portant discussions in Parliament took place on the American affairs, in which it was found, that those who had most espoused her cause, on the question of internal taxation, and most objected to the measures of administration in the conduct of the war, differed, at the last, from each other, on the question of American independence; a difference rendered peculiarly memorable, as being the subject of the last speech and appearance in Parliament of that illustrious statesman, the Earl of Chatham. On April 7. 1778, though labouring under a severe fit of illness, he appeared in his place, in the House of Lords, and delivered a most animated and energetic speech, in which he strongly protested against the surrender of the sovereignty of Great Britain over her colonies; soon after, rising to reply to the Duke of Richmond, he fell back on the seat in a fainting fit, and in a few days expired, at his seat in Kent. In four years from this event, Great Britain was compelled, by the circumstances of the war, to yield upon this great point, and, by the peace of Versailles, ratified and concluded September 3. 1783, the *thirteen United Colonies of America were admitted to be* "*Free, Sovereign and Independent States.*"

IX.

FRANCE, FROM THE PEACE OF PARIS, 1763, TO THE OPENING OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE STATES GENERAL, 1789.

1. For the affairs of France, from the death of Lewis XIV., to the peace of Vienna, 1738, (see Sect. I.) In the year 1740, owing to the death of the Emperor, Charles VI., Europe was again agitated, and France in espousing the cause of the Elector of Bavaria, against the House of Austria, became involved in the war, which was terminated by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748, (see Sect. III.) From the conclusion of the above treaty, to the commencement of the Seven Years' War, she enjoyed a state of external peace and tranquillity. But though this short interval of repose from war, was applied to the improvement of the kingdom, in no common degree, both in the capital and provinces, by the establishment of schools and hospitals, the erection of public edifices, the building of bridges, digging canals, and repairing roads; in the cultivation and improvement of many arts, the extension of com-

merce, and encouragement of manufactures; of silk, of porcelain, and tapestry, in particular; yet amidst all these improvements she enjoyed little of internal tranquillity. Religious disputes greatly occupied the attention of all ranks of persons, and involved the clergy, the court, the parliaments, and the people, in incessant contests, exceedingly disgraceful, and, considering the temper of the times, the advancement of human knowledge, and the progress of ideas, extremely injudicious.

2. During the reign of Lewis XIV. a fierce contention had arisen between the Jesuits and Jansenists, on certain obscure points in theology, which after much fruitless argument, much raillery and abuse on both sides, through the influence of the Jesuits with the King, were referred to the decision of the Roman Pontiff. One hundred and *one* propositions, out of one hundred and three which were said to favour the Jansenists, in a book written by the Père Quesnel, were, in the year 1713, declared by the holy office to be heretical, and, consequently, condemned in form.* The interposition of his

* The King's confessor, the P. le Tellier, happened to have told the King that this book contained *more than a*

Holiness had little effect, in regard to the restoration of peace and tranquillity. The public instrument, by which the sentence was passed on the Jansenist party, (in the language of Rome, commonly called the bull "*Unigenitus*," from the first word with which it begins,) became the signal for fresh animosities, murmurs and complaints. The people, the Parliament, many prelates, and others of the clergy, violently exclaimed against it, as an infringement of the rights of the Gallican church, contrary to the laws, and a violation of the freedom of opinion in matters of religion. But the King, acting under the same influence as had induced him to forward the appeal, ordered it to be received, and in a short time afterwards died. The Regent Duke of Orleans found means to keep things tolerably quiet during his administration of affairs, nor did the flame burst out again till the year 1750, when, through the bigotry of the then Archbishop of Paris, the clergy were encouraged to refuse extreme unction to

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hundred censurable propositions. To save the credit of the Confessor, the Pope condemned a hundred and *one*, and stated the above reason for what he had done, in express terms, to the French ambassador at Rome.

all who should not produce confessional notes, signed by persons who adhered to the bull.

3. It is easy to guess the confusion and deep distress, indeed, which so singular and intolerant a measure was likely to produce. The cause of the recusants, and people in general, was, upon this occasion, strongly supported by the Parliament of Paris, and other Parliaments; and as in the preceding struggles, the Jansenists had been thrown into prison, in this the magistrates made no scruple of committing all who refused to administer the sacrament to persons in their last moments. The Jesuits had again recourse to the King.

4. The common course of proceeding in all disputes and contentions between the King and his Parliaments had hitherto borne the stamp of the most perfect despotism. However bold, or however respectful the remonstrances might be, on the part of the latter, they were not allowed to have the least effect against the determination of the court. If these judicial bodies became too refractory, banishment ensued, of course, and not the slightest regard was paid to any arguments they might allege, nor any resistance they might offer, in support of the liberties of their fellow-subjects.

5. Things came to the usual crisis on the present occasion. All the chambers of Parliament refused to register the letters patent by which they were commanded to suspend the prosecutions relative to the refusal of the sacraments. In the year 1753, they were banished, and much inconvenience arose from the interruption of business, and suspension of justice; while the clergy, attached to the bull, made great boast of the victory they had obtained, and endeavoured continually to strengthen themselves more and more against their adversaries. The King often wavered, but was as often brought back by the interposition of the Pope, and obstinate perseverance of the Jesuits; in 1754, however, seizing the opportunity of the birth of a second son to the Dauphin, (the Duke of Berry, afterwards Lewis XVI.,) he recalled the Parliament, but without effecting peace. The members had been received at Paris with loud acclamations and every demonstration of joy; their conduct had rendered them popular to an extraordinary degree, so that when commanded afresh to register the King's edicts, they again refused. This bold act of disobedience subjected them to the last extremity of kingly authority. The Sovereign repaired him-

self to the Hall of the Parliament, November, 1756, and in a *bed of justice* (the term by which such assemblies were peculiarly designated) finally ordered them to register the edicts in his name, which they could no longer, as the constitution then stood, refuse. Many, however, resigned their appointments, and much discontent prevailed amongst the people. It should be observed that by this time the depositaries of the laws and advocates had begun to depart from their usual routine of technical formalities, and, animated by the examples set them to enter largely into the general questions of law and liberty, rights and obligations, duty and privilege; they began, in short, systematically to take the part of the oppressed; they were prepared not only to remonstrate, but to argue, debate, and openly to protest against the violation of the rights of the people.

6. The hand of a fanatic, in the year 1757, appeared to have the effect of altering the King's mind once more. As his Majesty was stepping into his carriage, he was stabbed by an assassin of the name of *Damiens*, his object being, according to his own confession, not to kill but to alarm His Majesty, with a view of producing some change in the King's sentiments, that

might dispose him to enjoin the administration of the sacraments to dying persons, without the confessional notes insisted upon; but little reliance is to be placed on any declarations of this nature. In this instance they seemed not to agree with the conduct of the assassin. That Lewis acted as he did soon afterwards, with regard to the points in dispute, in consequence of this attempt on his life, is by no means certain; but in a short time matters were accommodated with the Parliament, and the Archbishop of Paris, the chief fomentor of the disturbances, on the part of the clergy banished.

7. It may not be unreasonable, perhaps, to date the commencement of the revolution that broke out nearly thirty years afterwards, from this period. Scarcely any thing could have contributed more to encourage the revolutionary principles already at work, than disputes which indicated such inveterate superstition and bigotry; such determined opposition to all freedom of thought; such sophistry and intrigue; such submission to the court of Rome; such contempt of the public opinion, as was expressed, for want of any better constituted organ, in the remonstrances of the French Parliament; such a disposition on the part of the court and clergy to uphold

the arbitrary powers of the sovereign, and this at a moment when the private life of the monarch himself was, in the highest degree, profligate and abandoned, and the whole system of government a system of venality, favouritism, and public plunder. These imprudent and unwise proceedings, at such a time, gave a handle to the philosophers, or *literati*, of the day, to take the reform of matters into their own hands, and by supplying them with such ample materials for the exercise of their wits as well as their courage, laid the foundation for a revolution which (so extensive were the abuses of government) almost necessarily threw every thing into confusion, and in the end far outstepped the bounds of all sober and discreet reform. Bred up by the Jesuits themselves, and instructed in all the branches of worldly and polite knowledge, they were amply prepared to expose the weakness or wickedness of their masters, when once the veil that shrouded their deceptions was by any accident removed. They stood ready to avail themselves of any circumstance that might tend to render manifest the pride and obstinacy, hypocrisy and deceit, of an overbearing sect, who by their influence

with the King might, at any time, trample upon the liberties of the people.

8. These philosophers, (for so they have been with too little discrimination called,) thus raised in the estimation of an oppressed people, into the rank of champions of public freedom were unfortunately, but probably through the artful designs of their instructors, little acquainted with the true principles of religion, however familiar they might be with its abuses. In directing their attacks, therefore against the Jesuits, they were rather anxious that their shafts should reach all the regular clergy, or monastic orders, in general; nor were they at all careful how much religion itself might suffer in the overthrow of its ministers. The enemies of the Jesuits in China, Portugal, Spain, and America, had been the Dominicans and Cordeliers. It was the aim of the philosophers, in crushing the Jesuits, to crush their rivals also; they were, therefore, as severe against the Dominicans as against the Jesuits: the parliament only attacked the latter. However attached Lewis XV. might be to the Jesuits, as the defenders of the Catholic religion, and kingly authority, he appears to have entertained a jealousy of them, as

censors of his immoral course of life, and as more attached to his son the Dauphin than to himself. He therefore became indifferent to the attacks making upon them; while his mistress, the Marchioness of Pompadour, and his minister, the Duke de Choiseul, in order to keep the King wholly in their own power, were ready enough to take part against the Dauphin, the Queen, the royal family, and the Jesuits themselves, of whom they were, for the reasons above-stated, justly suspicious. The Duke de Choiseul himself, indeed, is said to have given the following account of his enmity to the order; that being on an embassy at Rome, the general of the order frankly told him, that he knew, before he came, every thing that he had said about the society at Paris, and so convinced him that what he said was true, that he could not doubt but that, through some means or other, they were able to learn all that passed, not only in the cabinets of princes, but the interior of private houses, and that so dangerous a society ought not to subsist. It is proper to state this, in order to exonerate the Duke from any suspicion of having sacrificed them to the philosophers, whose irreligious principles he is known, latterly, not to have approved.

9. In the year 1759 the Jesuits had been expelled from Portugal, on a charge of countenancing an attack on the King's life. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the enemies of the order at Paris, should attempt to fix on them the charge of the late attack on Lewis XV., and to attribute to them regicide principles. *Damiens* himself seemed to have taken pains to leave the matter in extreme doubt. They already were sufficiently branded in the eyes of the public, as the friends and assertors of arbitrary power, and enemies to liberty. To relieve the sovereigns of Europe from the thraldom of a sect so powerful, so artful, and dangerous, became a principle of action, which the public were well enough disposed to countenance, and an opportunity only was wanting to accomplish their ruin.

10. This opportunity the Jesuits themselves provided for their enemies. Having endeavoured to escape from a demand made on them, in consequence of some mercantile proceedings, in which one of their society was deeply involved, the tribunals to which the case was referred, having an handle given them by the pleadings of the Jesuits, very properly required to see the articles of their institution, hitherto,

that is, for more than two centuries, kept secret from all the world. The times were well fitted for such a discovery. All men of wit and understanding, however unprincipled themselves, were well prepared to detect and expose the vulnerable parts of their great charter or INSTITUTE, (for so it was called) and to lay open to the world at large the peculiar arts and contrivances, by which they were systematically instructed to acquire an absolute dominion over the minds and consciences of men. The mysterious volume was found to contain sufficient to convict them of such bad principles with regard both to civil government and morality, that, though the King hesitated at first to pass sentence on them, being almost as much afraid of their rivals and opponents the Jansenists, the Parliament, and the philosophers, as of themselves; yet, at length, August 6. 1762, he was prevailed upon to issue a decree, by which they were secularised, and their possessions ordered to be sold, which was speedily, and with very few exceptions, carried into execution in all parts of the kingdom. Efforts indeed were made to save them, as being essentially necessary to combat the attacks of the new philosophy,

and to check the progress of deism and atheism; as heretofore they had interposed to confound schismatics and heretics; both the altar and the throne, it was alleged, needed their services now more than ever; but all these movements in their favour were in vain. The Duke de Choïseul and the Marchioness of Pompadour had the influence to procure an edict from the King for the actual abolition of the order in France, which was issued in November 1764, and other courts of Europe judged it wise to take the same steps. Spain and Portugal having at this time ministers, whose principles and politics much resembled those of the Duke de Choiseul, the Count d'Aranda, and the Marquis de Pombal; the Jesuits were expelled from Spain, Naples, and Sicily, from Mexico, Peru, and Paraguay, in the course of one and the same year, 1767.

11. The fate of the Jesuits was no sooner decided, than the Parliaments, elated by the downfall of their great opponents, began to attack the arbitrary power of the King. The profligate life of the latter had withdrawn him too much from the cares of government, and opened the door to abuses in almost every

department of administration; but while the Parliaments were thus engaged, some very extraordinary processes at law, particularly the case of the *Calas* family at Thoulouse, of *Labarre* at Abbeville, and of the celebrated *Lally*, commander in India, in which shocking instances of fanaticism and oppression occurred, turned the eyes of the philosophers, with *Voltaire* at their head, to the defects of the French *jurisprudence*, and excited a strong feeling against both the *laws* of France, and the administrators of them.

12. The nation had sustained a considerable loss in the death of the dauphin, who, though a favourer of the Jesuits to a certain extent, exhibited a character so different from that of his father in many most essential points, as to render him very justly popular; his Highness died at the age of 36, in the year 1765; his wife, a princess of the House of Saxony, surviving him only fifteen months. In 1770, through the agency of the Duke de Choiseul, a new connection took place between the Courts of Vienna and Versailles, by the marriage of the young Dauphin, afterwards Lewis XVI. with the daughter of the Empress Dowager, the Archduchess Marie Antoinette; an union attended

with such costly and splendid festivities at the time, as must excite in every sensible mind, the most awful reflections on the dismal events which are now known to have clouded its latter days.

13. The marriage of the Dauphin took place at a time, when the differences between the King and his parliament had arisen to the greatest height. In the course of the years 1770 and 1771, the King held several beds of justice, but without at all subduing the spirit which had been raised against his edicts, and which the minister, in opposition to the chancellor, is supposed to have encouraged; a new Parliament, and six councils, on the suggestion of the latter, were proposed to be constituted, to supply the place of the refractory members, who were banished; but this measure was opposed, not only by the regular Parliaments, but by the princes of the blood, and several even of the very persons nominated to form and preside in the new assemblies. Several provincial Parliaments, as well as that of Paris were suppressed, and as many as seven hundred magistrates exiled or confined.

14. The year 1774 terminated the life and

reign of Lewis XV.; he died in the 65th year of his age, having reigned 58. The latter part of his life was highly disgraceful in a private point of view, and utterly feeble in a public one; nor was his death at all regretted. He was succeeded by his grandson Lewis XVI., who had lost an elder brother in the year 1761, his father in 1765, and his mother in 1767; strange mortality in one family, and too much resembling the losses in that of Lewis XIV. (see Sect. I.) then imputed to poison; a charge revived upon this occasion, but probably entirely without foundation.

15. At the very commencement of his reign, but not without some sacrifice of his private feelings and opinions, Lewis XVI. complied with the general wish of having the old Parliaments restored, and the new councils formed by the Chancellor Maupeou, dissolved; a measure, which seemed to diffuse an almost universal joy throughout the capital and provinces. The King had taken into his service two ministers of a disposition favourable to the wishes of the people; the venerable Count de Maurepas, and M. Turgot. In conjunction with these ministers, Lewis undoubtedly appeared disposed to

reform abuses, and promote the happiness of his people; but, unfortunately, the state of France, if not of the world in general, precluded all *hope* of any gradual and temperate change.

16. The American contest had commenced; a declaration of rights had appeared there, exceedingly well calculated to open the eyes of those who had not yet seen, and to encourage the revolutionary movements of those who *had* been able to detect, and were prepared to expose, the great abuses subsisting in the French government; already had the philosophers successfully attacked the Jesuits; aimed some severe blows at the monastic orders in general, as well as at the Court of Rome, which had supported and abetted them in every attempt to uphold the papal and royal authority, and to stifle the complaints of the people. The tyranny thus inveighed against and attacked, had incited an opposition, much more likely to promote licentiousness than assist the cause of real and genuine liberty. The errors of Catholicism, upheld by a bigoted and infatuated clergy, at variance with the only assemblies in the nation capable of any constitutional remonstrance, however ineffectual, naturally hurried the wits

and freethinkers of that lively nation into extremes which every sober-minded man could not fail to lament; in a very short course of time, from railing at the regular clergy, they proceeded to rail at religion, and even atheism was propagated in a way that bespoke a dreadful disregard of all principles of religion, common honesty, and honour; in works purporting to have been written by very respectable persons *deceased*, who had holden, when alive, opinions diametrically opposite to those that were thus stamped with their names. These were among some of the most dreadful forerunners of a revolution, which, had it been properly managed, had it fallen into the hands of persons better prepared to act upon the true principles of religion and orderly government, considering the progress of ideas, and the powerful impulse which the human mind had received, was not unseasonable in point of time and circumstances.

17. It would be absurd, however, to deny the abilities of many of the persons who now stood forward to stem the torrent of abuses, and vindicate the rights of the people; several of them had wit and learning, and science, at command,

to the highest degree; some of them had a lively sense of liberty, but they had been ill-taught on the subjects of religion and morality; they had read Locke, without imbibing Locke's best principles; they had confounded the abuses of Christianity with Christianity itself; they were witty and ingenious, but not comparable in wisdom and conduct to their contemporaries in Scotland, or in England; the latter were the truest friends to liberty, the best philosophers, and the best politicians, as their writings show. The celebrated Encyclopædia which first appeared in 1751, had supplied an opportunity for all the literati of France to express their most private sentiments on government, political economy, and the management of the finances. Amongst these the economists bore a conspicuous part; their whole system, when rightly understood, being one of liberty, whether it regarded personal rights, the free application of industry, or the exportation of corn. The author of the Introduction to the Encyclopædia, M. d'Alembert, was a man of considerable talents, but a deist in principle; his coadjutor, Diderot, an atheist.

18. The ministry of Turgot, while it lasted,

was rather calculated to give encouragement to the French reformers; his own views were undoubtedly liberal and patriotic, and he had a master sincerely disposed, in all likelihood, to further any practicable plan of reform, but the course of the minister was too precipitate; his views extended to too many objects, and were such as admitted not of any speedy accomplishment; they were too mighty for the grasp of any one man; they only excited the animosity of the privileged orders, and drove them into measures of defence, more calculated to work their own overthrow, than conciliate their enemies. The advocates of ancient abuses and unreasonable customs, they treated their opponents with an ill-judged contempt, and by resisting all amelioration of the present order of things, laid the foundation for a thousand impracticable systems and extravagant theories, new constitutions and schemes of government, which being severally proposed, tried and rejected, in rapid succession, at last involved every thing in confusion, anarchy, and ruin.

19. While the seeds of revolution, if not of republicanism, plentifully sown, were beginning to germinate in France, in America the people

were already acting upon the very principle of resistance to an alleged tyranny. It required only to bring the two countries, by some means or other, into contact, to spread the contagion, and revolutionise both nations as the different circumstances and characters of the people should severally determine. At the beginning of the year 1778, a formal alliance was negotiated between the court of Versailles and the revolutionary government of America; but long before that, in the year 1774, the American declaration of rights, on which their opposition to the English government rested, was received in France, as a kind of practical application of the theoretical schemes of the French philosophers, and might reasonably have alarmed all the courts of Europe; though the contrary was the fact. *France* and *Spain* sent help, and *Prussia* approved the American proceedings, not so much out of friendship towards the Americans, as of blind hostility to Great Britain. The King of France is said to have foreseen the ill consequences of such a war, but to have weakly given way to contrary advice.

20. The speeches of opposition, in the meantime, in the two English Houses of Parliament, greatly interested the people on the continent;

the crowned heads, indeed, took little notice of the warning, whilst the subjects were listening attentively to the lessons of liberty promulgated by *Chatham*, *Fox*, and *Burke*. Unfortunately, the court of Versailles, at this very time, with the exception of the King, who was inclined to economy, fell into the utmost extravagancies of luxury, gaiety, and dissipation; drew largely, and without any consideration, on the public treasury, though the finances were in a most depressed state; invented all kinds of novelties, and seemed bent upon exchanging the forms and etiquette of a court, for trifling, though expensive amusements, not omitting such as promoted and encouraged the spirit of gambling.

21. While these things were going on at court, and too much countenanced, it is be to feared, by the Queen, she received a visit from her eccentric brother, the Emperor Joseph the Second, which had, or appeared to have, an extraordinary effect on the Parisians; being so timed as to fall in with the new notions that had been adopted, of manly simplicity, and a republican severity of manners. The *incognito* he preserved, carried so far as to dismiss, in a very striking manner, all the glare and pomp of royalty; the frankness of his manners, unostentatious and frugal mode of life, led

the French more particularly to notice, and to condemn more severely, the thoughtless luxury and dissipation of their own court and princes.

22. The King had a hard and cruel task upon his hands; he found it impossible to check a course of extravagance and levity in his own family, which he could not, and in fact did not approve; in his choice of ministers, he was sure to offend one party or the other; thus, when in 1776, on the dismission of M. Turgot, he first appointed the celebrated M. Necker, of Geneva, to the high office of supreme director of the finances, the privileged orders took the alarm; they thought they saw in the citizen of a republic and a Protestant, a decided friend to the liberal ideas that were afloat to their prejudice, and the enemy and corrector of all abuses of power and place. When, on the removal of M. Necker, the management of the finances was delivered into other hands, the people complained that their friend and favourite had been sacrificed to intrigue and cabal, and that he had been checked and supplanted, at a moment when he was chalking out a system of reform, highly beneficial to the state, and favourable to their best interests.

23. In 1783, M. de Calonne undertook to

restore order to the finances, and his measures were exactly such as were calculated to bring matters to a crisis, and hasten the revolution which had for a long time been impending. Inclined to favour the luxury and prodigality of the court, and at the same time to provide for the deficiencies in the revenue, he boldly attacked the privileged orders, by proposing, as the best impost he could devise, a *general* land-tax, fairly adjusted, and from which there should be *no exemption.* To carry this great point into execution, being no favourite with the Parliament, he recommended the convocation of the assembly of the NOTABLES; (a name given to a former meeting of select and distinguished persons, in the year 1626.) To this advice the King assented, doubtless with the best intentions, though many about the court pretended, even at that time, to foresee in this measure the downfall of the monarchy, and the ruin of the minister who had proposed it. The King gave his consent, December 1786, and in February 1787, this extraordinary assembly met. The minister had undoubtedly acted constitutionally in calling it, however rashly in regard to his own interests, and the King has been supposed to have imbibed from his father a strong inclin-

ation to consult such public and national councils. In this instance, however, both the crown and the minister were deceived; the latter, who expected to be allowed to lay his plans before them in the way of commands to be obeyed, was soon displaced, on the remonstrances and demand of the very assembly he had ventured to call together; and though it did some good in the way of regulation and reform, during the short period of its sitting, which was only till the 25th of May 1787, it was far from answering the purposes for which it had been convoked. The members of it, however, had acquired information hitherto withheld from the public, and imbibed principles friendly to liberty.

24. On the dismission of M. de Calonne, his successor, the Archbishop of Thoulouse, by an arbitrary and inconsiderate behaviour, involved his sovereign in another unpleasant contest with the Parliament, who, in a moment of irritation, called for a meeting of the states-general. The credit and power of the Parliaments had hitherto been chiefly owing to the disuse of these national councils, so that if it had been proposed with any sincere desire of redressing grievances, and resisting oppression, the members with whom it

originated would have deserved the credit of patriotism; but probably they were swayed by motives less pure. The King, however, consented to their convocation in 1792, but in the meantime had many unpleasant altercations with the Parliament, and on one occasion was treated with so little ceremony, or rather such indignity, as it was thought, by the Duc d'Orléans, as to occasion his banishment.

25. The minister, in order to break or reduce the power of Parliament, thus openly at variance with him, and to get rid of the younger members, whose refractory spirit was but too apparent, projected the appointment of a *cour plènière*, consisting of persons selected by the King from the principal nobility, professions and offices of state. The court was formed, and sat long enough to enforce the ministerial decrees, but amidst such murmuring and confusion, such violent remonstrances and objections, attended with popular commotions in the capital and provinces, that in a short time the scheme was abandoned, and the minister announced to the public the King's intention of convoking the states-general in the year ensuing; he was then dismissed from his high office, and, to the great

joy of the Parliament and people, M. Necker was recalled.

26. The royal word had been pledged for the summoning the states-general in 1789, and it was soon found to be a promise, which, though the chief management of the finances had passed into other and more popular hands, could not easily be abandoned. They had not been assembled since the year 1614, and difficulties therefore were started, as to the best mode of arranging them; the King even condescended to refer the matter to the decision of all the corporate and learned bodies of the realm; an extraordinary step to take, but favoured by the minister, who had it in view to give consequence to the third estate, or commonalty, in order to counterbalance the too great influence of the privileged orders.

27. This popular design of the minister, besides alarming the clergy and nobility, did not meet with the ready concurrence of the Parliament; and it was even proposed, by M. d'Espresmesnil, a member who had incurred both banishment and imprisonment in the course of his opposition to the court, to adopt at once the plan of 1614; a proposal to which the Parliament

acceded; but it had the effect of rendering them immediately as unpopular as the privileged orders. The claims of the third estate met with the support of a large majority of the people, as might naturally have been expected at such a moment; the commons of 1788 were very different from those who were first summoned to meet in 1302, upon a plan which had continued to 1614. It was reasonable to adopt new forms; and it was therefore strongly insisted that they should, upon this occasion, in order to be upon a par with the other orders, have a double representation, and deliberate together. Had the plan of the states-general of 1614 been adopted, the Parliament would have appeared there with much greater *éclat* than in any new arrangement; this may account for the part they took upon this occasion. They entirely expected, in demanding the convocation of the states, that they should have the chief place in that assembly, and continue to enjoy the confidence of the people.

28. Such was the state of things at this memorable period; an infatuation the most surprising seemed to hurry on the privileged orders to their ruin and destruction, and with them the monarchy. Instead of bending in any manner to the force of popular opinion, or acknowledging

the justice of the claims made on them, as a favoured class, they more strongly than ever stood upon their privileges, and appeared to treat with contempt that powerful and now enlightened majority that was opposed to them; they insisted more than ever upon their feudal rights, after the whole system had been virtually abolished. Conduct of this kind could not fail to stimulate the other party to deeds of violence and retaliation, in which the authority of the established laws and customs came soon to be totally disregarded, and every thing seemed to tend to ruin and devastation; when the election of the States-general was appointed to take place, both sides exerted themselves with the utmost zeal and anxiety, but the result was found to be highly favourable to the democratic party.

29. Great changes had already taken place in the character and manners of the Parisians. Since the American war a strong disposition had been shown to imitate the English, in dress, manners, amusements, and freedom of speech; the respect which had formerly prevailed for high birth and rank was every day diminishing; persons of all classes were beginning to be raised to situations of distinction and confidence, and some of the great themselves, instead of maintaining the distance preserved by their ancestors,

made approaches towards the lower ranks, by intermarriages, and the open and general encouragement of literature, trade, commerce and agriculture; even the females began to discuss questions of state, to express a lively and sentimental concern for all oppressed persons or nation, and to wish that all the young men who could speak eloquently upon these subjects in their private assemblies, should have, as in England, a field opened to them for the more public display of their talents and abilities. It is not to be wondered that, under these circumstances, every eye should be fixed on the meeting of that great national council whose powers had not been called into action for the long space of nearly two centuries.

X.

AUSTRIA, FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR TO THE DEATH OF MARIA THERESA, 1763. 1780.

1. WITH regard to Austria, the seven years' war terminated with the peace of Hubertsburg, which was signed on the 5th of February, 1763, (see Sect. VI.) and on the 27th of May, 1764,

as the fruits of that peace, the Empress was gratified with the election of her son Joseph to the dignity of the King of the Romans, a point of great importance to her, considering the circumstances that had retarded the elevation of her royal consort to the Imperial throne. The election was most opportune, for the Emperor Francis survived it but a very short time, being struck with a fit of apoplexy in the month of August of the same year, while attending the nuptials of his second son at Inspruck, in the Tyrol. Francis had borne his faculties meekly, resigning to his Imperial consort the cares as well as the state and parade of government, which, indeed, more regularly appertained to her than to himself; he obviously withdrew from the authority that seemed to have devolved to him, and if he occupied himself at all with the affairs of government, it was rather to supply its pecuniary demands from his Tuscan treasury, than for any other purposes; not so much in the way of gain as of regular business and prudential management. Of the high estimation in which he was held by the Empress there can be little doubt; her affection for him had a romantic cast, and seemed founded on what so seldom occurs, or can be expected to

occur in royal marriages, an early, fixed, and solid attachment.

2. Her Majesty employed herself from the conclusion of the treaty of Hubertsburgh, in ameliorating in every way possible the condition of her country; in founding philosophical academies, reforming the schools, encouraging by premiums the manufactures, and in restraining several feudal abuses: she had the opportunity afforded her of contributing to the introduction of the variolous inoculation into her dominions. She interfered, and in a very judicious manner, in the regulations regarding monasteries and nunneries, abolished the dangerous privilege of asylum, the horrible excesses of the Inquisition, and the inhuman judicial process of torture. She also suppressed the society of Jesuits.

3. Considering the extreme repugnance Maria Theresa had shown to the dismemberment of her own domains on the death of her father, it must seem greatly to redound to her discredit that she could have become a party to the partition of Poland; but it may very fairly be inferred that she was driven into it. Being unable to serve the cause of Saxony, she had no other

alternative against the combination of Russia, Prussia, and the Porte, than to claim a part; though it is almost proved that she was drawn in by Prussia to partake of the plunder, that she might also share the odium excited by it. After the partition indeed began to have effect, and was sanctioned by the Polish delegates nominated for that purpose, Maria Theresa appears to have had no scruple in extending her encroachments, and supporting Prussia in the same attempts, to such a degree even as to provoke the interposition of Russia. It was not till the year 1777 that all the three parties were satisfied, and brought to an agreement in regard to limits; the portion assigned to Austria being decidedly the greatest in extent. In the same year the Empress Queen, by a convention, signed on the fifth day of February, obtained possession of the Buccovina, ceded to her by the Porte. Her situation was at this period particularly flourishing, her army numerous, and well-disciplined, her finances in good order, and her alliance with France cemented by many marriages with the Bourbon Princes; but after the partition of Poland, and the connection the Empress Queen seemed thus to have formed with Russia and Prussia, an Anti-Austrian party sprang up at

the court of Versailles, who persuaded the King to renew his connections with Prussia, in order to secure some check against the augmentation of the power of Austria; this, however, was done without violating subsisting treaties, or breaking friendship with Maria Theresa. Lewis XVI. was much more jealous of the son than of the mother, and not without reason; the views of the former being evidently ambitious and encroaching, and highly anti-gallican.

4. In December, 1777, on the death of the Elector of Bavaria, both the Emperor and Empress Queen laid claim to his dominions as fiefs or allodials, properly descending or reverting to one or other of them, having previously taken steps to arrange matters with their more immediate competitor, the Elector Palatine; and relying strongly on the support of France, as well as on the age and infirmities of the King of Prussia: but the latter found means to interpose, by stimulating the Duke of Deux Ponts, presumptive heir to the Elector Palatine, to appeal to himself and the King of France against the dismemberment of the Bavarian territories, referring, in confirmation of his rights, to the treaty of Pavia, confirmed by the Golden Bull, and the treaty of Westphalia; all these authorities

were disputed on the part of the Emperor and Empress, who insisted on the validity and legality of the arrangements made with the Elector Palatine. The Emperor in the meanwhile offered to submit his own claims to the judgment of the diet, and to mediate between his mother and the other claimants: preparations, nevertheless, were made for deciding the matter by arms, and both the Emperor and King of Prussia took the field at the head of their respective forces; but the Empress Queen, fearing for her son, made many overtures of peace, sought the mediation of Russia and France, and, though continually thwarted by the Emperor, who was inclined to war, and unwilling to submit to the dictates of foreign powers, succeeded in restoring tranquillity, by the treaty of Teschen, 1779. By this treaty many arrangements were entered into to satisfy the King of Prussia, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Deux Ponts, and the Elector of Saxony. And Austria acquired territory, though of no great extent, very important in point of situation. She obtained from Bavaria the circle of Burghausen, which opened a passage to the Tyrol, and was not compelled absolutely to renounce any

of her claims, though she found means to forego with credit the further prosecution of them.

France had done enough during these disputes about Bavaria, to give umbrage to the court of Vienna; she had secretly opposed the dismemberment of the electorate, she had not supplied the succours she was required to do according to the treaty of Versailles, and she had manifested a distrust of the Emperor, bordering upon contempt. This conduct had the effect of throwing the latter into the arms of England and Russia; in the contest with America, Joseph espoused the cause of England, pronounced it to be the cause of all sovereigns, and prohibited all intercourse between the subjects of the empire and the revolted colonies. With regard to Russia, he took a more active part; he visited Catherine on her celebrated journey to the Crimea, and at Petersburg ingratiated himself with her to an extraordinary degree, alienated her from the old King of Prussia, and in so doing procured her assistance in promoting the advancement of his brother the Archduke Maximilian to the coadjutorship of Cologne and Munster, the last wish of Maria Theresa, who had thus in an extraordinary manner found the means to provide, before her

death, for all her numerous family. But her end was approaching: in November, 1780, she was seized with an illness, which terminated her existence; her last days were past in acts of devotion and attentions to her son, the Emperor, and others of her family, particularly striking and grand. She displayed at this awful moment a powerful mind, a warm heart, and a truly Christian fortitude; she died November 29. 1780, in the 64th year of her age, and 41st of her reign. She was not exempt from weaknesses, but her virtues, both public and private, greatly preponderated; the former were of the most splendid cast, the latter altogether as amiable. Nine out of sixteen children survived her:

Joseph, who succeeded her; Leopold, Great Duke of Tuscany; Ferdinand Governor of Austrian Lombardy and Duke of Modena, by reversion; Maximilian, Coadjutor of Cologne and Munster; Mary Anne, Abbess of Prague; Mary Christina, wife of Albert, Duke of Saxony; Maria Elizabeth, Abbess of Inspruck; Maria Amelia, Duchess of Parma; Caroline, Queen of Naples; Maria Antoinetta, Queen of France.

XI.

REIGNS OF JOSEPH II., LEOPOLD II., &c., FROM 1765 TO 1800.

1. On the demise of his father, Francis I., Joseph, who had been elected King of the Romans, in 1764, ascended the Imperial throne at the age of twenty-four, in the year 1765, his mother being still living. It was soon apparent that he projected great changes, and the reformation of many abuses, but in pursuing these purposes he was undoubtedly too precipitate and too adventurous; his education had not been such as to fit him for such high attempts. It was impossible to unite in the way he proposed such scattered dominions; it was impossible to carry into execution all the schemes he had invented for the consolidation and improvement of the empire. In the Belgic provinces, in particular, he rendered himself extremely unpopular by the violence of his proceedings, but this was not till after his mother's death; as long as she lived she sedulously endeavoured to restrain the impetuosity and warlike disposition of her son, apprehending that he had many enemies at hand,

and that notwithstanding the pretended courtesy of the King of Prussia, manifested in private interviews as well as public negotiations, he could not have much chance of success in coping with so able, powerful, and experienced an opponent; in this, perhaps, she showed some sense, though it has been doubted whether she did not too much control the ardent spirit of her son. The Empress Queen dying in the year 1780, Joseph was left to the pursuit of his own whims and projects, in many instances most extravagant, in almost all oppressive. For though there was an appearance of liberality, and much show of good, he evidently seemed to consult nothing but his own arbitrary will.

2. Had his education been such as to enable him to form a right judgment of things, had not his genius been cramped, and his reason perverted, by a choice of tutors and preceptors peculiarly ill qualified to fit him for the arduous and conspicuous station to which he had been elevated by the circumstances of his birth and connections, he might certainly have done great good, and actually ameliorated the condition of a large and most interesting portion of the human race, for his manners were such as to have led him to a just knowledge of their wants, and a

proper sense of their claims upon society. He travelled through Europe as if he were bent on seeing the real condition of his fellow-creatures in all ranks and situations of life; discarding all pomp and parade, he sought the society and conversation of persons far below him, and encouraged every one to give him information upon subjects most nearly touching their interests. Since Peter I. of Russia, no monarch had taken such pains to procure information, and survey every thing with his own eyes.

3. The whole extent of his dominions was supposed to contain a population of 24,000,000, distinguished however by a great variety of laws, customs, religious opinions, and language; the lower orders subject to many restrictions, attaching to the state of vassalage in which they were still held by their feudal lords and superiors. The Roman Catholic religion chiefly prevailed; the clergy were wealthy, and possessed great influence. Maria Theresa had perceived what was wrong, and had shown an excellent disposition to amend matters, but had partly been compelled by circumstances, and swayed by prudence, to proceed moderately and gradually. Joseph was more impetuous, he was so eager to break down all distinctions, that, among

other regulations, he insisted upon having but *one* language for the whole empire, though no less than ten principal languages were spoken at that time, and in common use, within the confines of his dominions. All his other projects were of the same description, whether good or bad, exceedingly too hasty; he broke up old systems before he was well prepared to establish new ones, and in the interval, necessarily occasioned such confusion, disgust, and trouble, as to hinder every good effect, and thwart his own purposes; in all his regulations he seemed bent upon upholding his own Imperial power, not only by omitting to introduce any new checks upon it, but even abolishing old ones; he particularly displeased his Hungarian subjects, those faithful adherents of his mother, by interfering with their laws and customs, and offending some of their fondest prejudices.

4. Though attached to the Roman Catholic religion, he showed great disregard of the papal authority, by subjecting the monasteries to episcopal jurisdiction, suppressing many, and reducing the numbers, both of monks and nuns, in all that were permitted to continue; with great want of feeling, he omitted to make any provision for those who were discharged; he

broke through many superstitions, not rightly judging how deeply they were interwoven with the religious feelings of the people, and how much the latter, therefore, were likely to be affected by such violence and haste; he abolished the privileges of primogeniture, declared marriage (heretofore regarded as a sacrament) to be only a civil contract, and rendered bastards capable of inheriting. The wisest and most truly liberal of all his innovations was that which, by a public edict, dated October 31. 1781, established a general toleration for all the "*Acatholici*," or dissenters from the Romish religion. This and other measures of interference with ecclesiastical matters so disturbed and alarmed Pope Pius VI., as to induce him to take a journey to Vienna, personally to remonstrate with the Emperor. His plan was opposed at Rome, and entirely discouraged by the Austrian ministry; but his Holiness persisted, and after a visit of much form and ceremony, returned in about a month, without effecting any change in the sentiments or proceedings of Joseph.

5. In the same precipitate manner, as in other instances, he suddenly abolished feudal vassalage, without any suitable arrangements for the

relief of those who must evidently suffer by such an important change of tenure; and while he prided himself upon putting an end to slavery, he subjected the emancipated to such arbitrary imposts of his own invention, as plainly to convince them that they had not in reality recovered their freedom. To countervail these errors in legislation and government, he certainly showed great merit in the encouragement he gave to arts, letters, trade, and manufactures; in founding numerous schools and universities, public libraries, laboratories, and observatories; in improving the public roads, making canals, and establishing free ports. In 1784, he obtained permission from the Porte to navigate the Turkish seas, which seemed to afford excellent means to his Hungarian subjects, who were otherwise ill situated for trade, to carry on an extensive commerce by way of the Danube; war, however, soon interrupted this accommodation; in 1787 it came to an end.

6. In 1781, Joseph, having concerted his plans with France, who had altered her measures towards him, probably for the very purpose, determined to break through the barrier treaty * imposed upon Austria when the Netherlands

* See Coxe, iv. 152, 153, &c.

were transferred to Charles VI., and which, though undoubtedly affording security to Austria itself against the French, must be allowed to have constantly carried in it something galling to the feelings of the Imperial court, as entirely dictated by the maritime powers. The fortifications of the barrier towns had now fallen into decay, and the connection which had for some time subsisted between the courts of Versailles and Vienna, seemed to afford the Emperor plausible grounds for declining to pay for the military protection of a frontier no longer likely to be disturbed. He therefore directed all the fortifications in the Netherlands to be done away, except those of *Luxemburgh*, *Ostend*, *Namur*, and *Antwerp*, while the Dutch, who had been desired to withdraw their garrisons, as no longer necessary, or entitled to pay, judged it wise to comply.

7. This violation of the barrier treaty, complied with in the last instance so easily by the united provinces, was quickly followed by fresh demands on the latter power, under pretence of more accurately adjusting the boundaries of the Dutch and Austrian Netherlands. The cession of the city of Maestricht and the contiguous district of Outer Meuse being among other things

insisted upon. At length, however, and about the year 1784, these claims all seemed to merge in one sweeping demand, to have the full and free navigation of the river Scheld, for the purposes of establishing in favour of his Flemish subjects, a direct trade with the East Indies, and of restoring the city of Antwerp, once the emporium of Europe, to its proper degree of splendor and importance; a project, which, if it could have been accomplished without interfering with so many foreign interests, and the manifest violation of subsisting treaties, may be said to have reflected no disgrace on the policy, wisdom, or paternal care of the Emperor; but it was impossible to expect that such changes should be allowed to proceed without great opposition. It was soon discovered that both France and Prussia were prepared to support the Dutch against him, and though the Empress of Russia had endeavoured to deter the latter from aiding the Hollanders, the project was laid aside, and Joseph, instead of his views on the Scheld, resumed some of his former demands. In the end, however, every thing was compromised by money, through the mediation of the French king, or rather in conformity to the dictates of the French minister.

8. Another object which the Emperor attempted almost at the same time, but equally without effect, was the exchange of the Netherlands for Bavaria. He had taught his mother to covet the latter country, and its acquisition would undoubtedly have rendered his dominions more compact, and given him a continued line of territory, from the frontier of Turkey to the Mediterranean sea, while it might have relieved him from the charge of a more distant portion of his dominions, held by a very uncertain and troublesome tenure. Joseph had calculated upon overcoming all the difficulties that might arise from foreign powers; had secured the consent of Russia, and even negotiated the proposed exchange with the Elector of Bavaria, (who, if it took place, was to be made King of Austrasia or Burgundy.) But Frederic II., at the age of seventy-four, again interposed; and, by forming with the several princes and states of the empire, what was called the Germanic union, for maintaining the integrity and indivisibility of the Germanic body in general, effectually prevented the exchange so much desired. The principal parties to the union, which was settled and confirmed, July 1785, were, besides the

King of Prussia, the Electors of Hanover, Saxony, and Mentz; the Margrave of Anspach, and the Duke of Deux Ponts. The whole scheme, indeed, was found to be so impracticable, that the Emperor and Elector judged it necessary to deny that any convention to that effect had taken place between them.

9. In 1788, Joseph incurred considerable disgrace, by his attacks upon Turkey. He had projected, in conjunction with the Empress of Russia, whom he had flattered by a visit to the Crimea, the total dismemberment of that empire; but blunder upon blunder defeated his purposes, and he retired from the contest blamed by all parties. In 1789, however, hostilities were renewed, and in the battle of Rimnik, which took place in the month of September, the combined forces of Russia and Austria gained an important victory over the Turks, under the command of the Grand Vizir. The capture of Belgrade soon after, by the army of Loudon, completed their triumphs, but their success occasioned jealousies, which effectually interrupted the career of victory. England, Holland, and Prussia, began to be alarmed at the increasing power of Russia and Austria; and, by fomenting the troubles in the Netherlands, drew

the attention of Joseph from his intended encroachments on Turkey.

10. In no part of his dominions were his attempts at reformation worse received, or worse managed, than in the Netherlands. Divided into many provinces, and each province governed by distinct laws, customs, and regulations; some secured by charter, in the enjoyment of important privileges and immunities; nothing could possibly have been thought of more vexatious than that of reducing them all under one system of administration, commencing with the sudden and violent abolition of many convents, and the suppression of many institutions, forms, and ceremonies, by long usage become little less than sacred in the eyes of the people. The courts of law, the universities and schools, were subjected to similar changes, nor did the Imperial decrees spare any order of men, or any public establishment, however respectable in other respects, from undergoing this severe ordeal, and revolutionary process. Nothing could exceed the consternation and disgust with which these new regulations were received by all ranks of persons, from the lowest to the highest; for even the governors-general sided with the refractory party, and were averse

from carrying into execution a system so exceedingly repugnant to the feelings of the people in general, but especially of the principal persons amongst the clergy, laity, and magistrates. Riots and disturbances took place, as might have been expected, in many parts, and France was applied to for assistance as guarantee of their liberties. The whole authority of government seemed to be vested in the minister plenipotentiary of the Emperor, Count Belgios, who had to contend alone against the formidable opposition that had sprung up; for not only the governors-general, as has been before intimated, were on the side of the people, but even the Imperial minister, Prince Kaunitz, who greatly disapproved the violent proceedings of his master.

11. Joseph at first assumed an appearance of rigor and inflexibility, in the pursuit of his new measures, little suitable to the actual situation of affairs. He had not foreseen so formidable a resistance, and when it occurred, he depended too much on his means for suppressing it; embarrassed as he was at the time by the war with Turkey. After much threatening, therefore, and strong marks of displeasure against the Belgic states, he found it advisable to compromise matters, for a time at least, or rather to

offer to relinquish all the objectionable parts of his new system; to re-establish the ancient constitution, confirm the celebrated charter, called *La joyeuse Entrée*, and submit to have the case referred to delegates on both sides. In this, however, he was not sincere, and his duplicity and arbitrary disposition becoming every day more manifest, it was impossible to prevent things coming to extremity. The example of France was contagious; the whole population became divided into two parties of patriots and royalists, and the former were soon found to be the strongest. In November, 1789, the states declared their independence, in consequence of a meeting held at Ghent; the soldiery began to take part with the people. On the 26th of December, the states of Brabant assumed the sovereign power, in which they were soon followed by the states of the other provinces; a federal union was formed, under the title of the United Belgic States, and a congress of deputies to administer the new government, appointed to assemble on the 11th of January, 1790.

12. Thus were the low countries sacrificed to the injudicious and hasty measures of the Emperor, who was too late rendered sensible of his errors, when he found them perfectly irreparable,

either in the way of conciliation or force. He lived to see his offers of peace and reconciliation rejected with scorn and contempt, while he totally failed in his endeavours to procure the aid of foreign states to reduce his revolted subjects to obedience. In other parts of his dominions, particularly in Hungary, the same spirit of opposition to his plans had been excited, and kept up by similar measures of irritation and defiance, till the time of his decease drew near. He would then willingly have retraced his steps, and did, indeed, take some measures to conciliate the offended Hungarians, but the termination of his life was fast approaching, hastened no doubt by the opposition and ill-fortune which had attended almost the whole of his political career. He had weakened his constitution in all probability by the restless life he had led, and the hardships and fatigues to which he had exposed himself in the field; but he suffered severely in his mind from the course things had taken in the Netherlands, and though he exhibited in his last moments the fortitude, resignation, and composure of a true Christian, yet it is truly melancholy to think that his whole reign was passed in rendering himself and others wretched. He expired on the 20th of February, 1790, in

the forty-ninth year of his age; and, leaving no issue, was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his brother Leopold, who was also chosen Emperor before the end of the year in which his brother died.

13. The reign of the Emperor Leopold II. was very short, and far from a happy one. His brother had left his dominions in a wretched state of discontent and confusion; diminished in some most important instances, and pretty generally exposed to the attacks of formidable and designing enemies. Leopold had been able to do some good amongst his Tuscan subjects before he ascended the Royal and Imperial thrones, but his genius and talents were judged to be unequal to the government of a mighty empire. He soon gave satisfaction, however, to the aching minds of his new subjects, by restoring to many their ancient privileges, and revoking the injudicious and irritating innovations of his deceased brother. Nor did he manage his foreign negotiations ill, which, had they failed, might have involved him in inextricable difficulties. By flattering the English, and appearing to enter into their views in regard to Turkey and the Netherlands, he deterred the King of Prussia from prosecuting his designs

upon Gallicia, which he wished to procure for Poland, in exchange for Dantzic and Thorn. Afterwards, by fomenting that monarch's resentment against England, who appeared to have abandoned him, he managed to form a union with the very court which at the commencement of his reign had manifested the greatest symptoms of rivalry and opposition. This accommodation with the King of Prussia greatly facilitated his accession to the Imperial crown, which was conferred upon him October 9. 1790.

14. By very firm, but conciliatory behaviour towards the Hungarians, who seem to have imbibed at this time many of the democratic principles of the French, he not only effectually ingratiated himself with the leading persons of the kingdom, but regained the affections of the people at large, which had been sadly alienated through his brother's unwise interference with their most favourite customs and established rights.

15. Leopold did not so easily settle his disputes with the Netherlands. The mediation of England, Holland, and Prussia, had been offered, but he rather inclined to rely on his own strength, and his connexions with France, which were every hour becoming more uncertain and pre-

carious. He had recourse therefore to force, and succeeded indeed in re-establishing the Imperial authority, but totally detached from any cordial returns of loyalty on the part of the Belgians, which became but too apparent, when his subsequent disputes with the revolutionary government of France exposed those parts of the Austrian dominions to fresh troubles and disturbances.

16. The situation of the Emperor Leopold, it must be granted, was very embarrassing in the first years of the French revolution. The constraint put upon the royal family of France, to which he stood so nearly allied, and the threats denounced so openly against the Queen his sister, in particular, must have greatly affected his private feelings, while many of the German states, whose rights, ecclesiastical and territorial, guarantied by the peace of Westphalia, had been invaded in Alsace, Franche Compté, and Lorraine, by the decree of the national assembly, for abolishing the feudal privileges, publicly called upon him to interpose in their behalf, as head of the empire; as he stood bound to do indeed by his capitulation with the diet, on receiving the Imperial crown. In regard to the royal family of France, his first plans, in conjunction with the

King of Prussia, were clearly injudicious, and injurious to the cause he took in hand. The French revolutionists were not in a state to be intimidated by angry manifestoes or threats of foreign interference. The Emperor himself, indeed, did often appear cautious of embroiling his country in a war with France, but was at length probably provoked into it, by the violence of the jacobinical faction at Paris, rather than persuaded by the representations of the emigrant princes or royal family at Paris, as was so strongly alleged. Beyond the alliance with Prussia, however, concluded on the 19th of February, 1792, the Emperor Leopold can scarcely be said to have had any share in the war with France; for, on the 27th of that very month, he was seized with an illness, which in three days terminated his life, at the early age of forty-four, leaving his dominions in a state of more serious danger than when he began his reign.

17. The Emperor Leopold was succeeded in his hereditary states by his eldest son Francis, born in 1768, who became Emperor in the July following his father's death, and still reigns. This monarch had to begin those hostilities with France which his predecessor seems to have

contemplated with considerable distrust, and he became a party to the too hasty proceedings of his Prussian ally and the Duke of Brunswick, who increased the irritation and provoked the resistance of the French, by menaces extremely impolitic, considering the actual state of things. They endeavoured, indeed, to throw the blame on the emigrant princes, who, it was alleged, had misled them by false representations of the good disposition of the people in the interior of France. They expected to find a large majority ready to co-operate with them in the overthrow of the ruling faction.

18. The Emperor soon found himself in a very awkward situation. Instead of invading France with any effect, he had the mortification to see his own dominions invaded by the French under a general (Dumouriez), who had boasted that he would subdue the Austrian Netherlands before the end of the year; an engagement which he in a great measure fulfilled, through the disaffection of the Belgians, who were ready enough to throw off the Austrian yoke, heedless that they were in the way of having another immediately imposed upon them still more galling and vexatious. In the month of November, 1792, all subjection to the Imperial authority was openly

renounced in the very capital of the Netherlands, and the French allowed to enter the city in triumph. While these things were going on in Flanders, Germany itself was invaded by the French general, Custine, Mentz taken, and heavy contributions levied in the towns of Worms and Frankfort.

19. Early in the year 1793, the Austrians, under general Clairfait and the Prince of Saxe Coburg, obtained advantages over the French, at Aix la Chapelle, which were followed by the capture of the towns of Valenciennes and Condé in conjunction with the British army under the command of the Duke of York. A separation of the two armies afterwards took place, which was attended with unpleasant circumstances, and seems to have happened very contrary to the desire and wishes of the Austrian commanders. The troops under the Duke laid siege to Dunkirk, but were unsuccessful in their attempts against the place, being obliged to abandon the undertaking with the loss of the greatest part of their artillery and stores.

20. In the year 1794, the allied armies again acted in conjunction against the French under General Pichegru, the Emperor himself having joined the camp, but the overwhelming power

of the French baffled all their attempts to defend the Netherlands, which fell entirely into the hands of the enemy.

21. The share which the Emperor Francis II. had in the final dismemberment of Poland, 1795, will be shown in the history of that unhappy country. The King of Prussia having gained great advantages by this transaction, declined any longer assisting the allies against France, and in open violation of his engagements with England, made a peace with the French government, April 5. 1795, to the great disgust of the confederates.

22. The contests between the armies of Germany and France, in the years 1796, 1797, were carried on with the greatest vigour, skill, and bravery, on the Rhine, in Suabia, in the Tyrol, and in Italy. In 1796, the Archduke Charles, brother of the Emperor, acquired great glory by checking the progress of the two celebrated French generals, Jourdan and Moreau: and, though compelled to retire before Buonaparte, in 1797, and to subscribe to the peace of Campo-Formio, as will be related elsewhere, his credit with the army remained undiminished, and his reputation as a general unimpaired. On the renewal of the war in 1799, at the instigation of

the Neapolitan court, the Austrians were assisted by the Russians, and at the close of the eighteenth century, the tide of affairs seemed to be turning greatly against the French, when a new revolution in the fluctuating government of that disturbed people, suddenly changed the face of things, as will be shown in our continuation of the history of France.

XII.

FRANCE, FROM THE OPENING OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE STATES-GENERAL, 1789, TO THE DEATHS OF THE KING AND QUEEN, 1793.

1. THE states-general met, May 5. 1789. The King's speech has been much admired, as the address of an upright, humane, and patriotic prince, to a respectable assemblage of his subjects, by whose political and legislative exertions he hoped to improve the state of the nation. The nobles and clergy had expressed a willingness to forego their pecuniary privileges, but there were other grounds upon which they seemed likely to be at variance with the third estate. The latter were for obliterating all traces of distinction in

their legislative capacity; while the former were so imprudent as to take some steps, not only indicative of an invincible attachment to such distinctions, but bearing an air of arrogance and defiance in them, ill suited to the times. The very costume adopted on the occasion was calculated to render the representatives of the commonalty almost ridiculous in the eyes of their countrymen. The nobles and clergy were distinguished by robes peculiarly rich and brilliant; but the whole of the third estates were directed to appear in the common and antiquated black dress of the members of the law, though of various callings and professions. As soon, however, as the commons had verified their powers and were prepared to act, without waiting for the concurrence of the other two orders, it was proposed by a M. Le Grand, and seconded by the Abbé Sieyes, to call their meeting the "*National Assembly*," as forming a national representation *one* and *indivisible*. This was eagerly adopted by a majority of the members, but objected to by the King; at length, however, some of the clergy and nobles having joined the *third estate*, the King himself condescended to approve and sanction the union, a matter of great triumph to the popular party, and which, in

fact, made them the arbiters of the destiny of France.

2. On the 11th of July, 1789, the King thought it necessary to dismiss M. Necker; many tumults and insurrections were the consequence of this unpopular proceeding; the Bastille state prison, once crowded with the victims of arbitrary power, but at this moment, and under the mild reign of Lewis XVI., almost empty, was besieged by the mob, taken, and razed to the ground. After many tumults of this kind, the King judged it expedient to comply with the wishes of his people, and to recall the discarded minister; he was also induced by circumstances, to yield to another demand of more importance, namely, the dismissal of all his troops from the environs of Paris and Versailles. In the meanwhile, the Marquis de la Fayette, who had been engaged in America, and there imbibed a spirit of liberty, was fixed upon to take the command of the new militia or city guard. Alarmed at the appearance of things at this period, many nobles, and even one of the King's brothers, left the kingdom. This had undoubtedly a bad effect; it not only left the King more exposed to the violence of faction, but seemed to betoken a disregard of the liber-

ties of their country, and a settled purpose of invoking foreign aid.

3. The national assembly soon divided itself into two parties; the *Aristocrats*, or such as not only favoured royalty, but to a certain extent, the privileged orders, nobles, and clergy; and the *Democrats*, or advocates of freedom; the sworn enemies of all oppressive and distinct privileges; they were also distinguished into *royalists* and *patriots*. Among the former we may reckon the *moderates*, whose speeches in the assembly are justly to be admired, for their extreme good sense and rational politics. Of the nobles, it should be observed, that the most obnoxious were those who had purchased their nobility, amounting to many thousands. Of true, ancient, and hereditary nobility there were, it was computed, not more than two hundred families in the whole kingdom when the revolution began, nor were their privileges and exemptions by any means so great as was pretended. It was soon seen which party was the most powerful; on the 4th of August, 1789, decrees were passed, as if with the full consent of the whole assembly, for the abolition of the privileges of the nobles and clergy, provinces and towns; while persons of every rank and descrip-

tion were pronounced to be eligible to all civil, military, and ecclesiastical appointments. The royal family were exposed to horrible insults and indignities at Versailles, and at length almost forcibly conveyed to Paris; in consequence of which removal, the assembly also adjourned its sittings to the capital, a fatal step to take, as it could not but expose them to the tyranny of a faction, and the fury of the Parisian mob. Among the measures adopted at this period, the most important were those which placed all church property at the disposal of the nation, dissolved all monastic establishments, feudal privileges and rights, and suppressed the provincial parliaments and assemblies, by artfully dividing the kingdom into 83 departments, the work of the Abbé Sieyes; by this act the very name of province was obliterated from the French vocabulary, and with it all peculiar rights, laws, and jurisdictions; all provincial governors, commandants, sub-delegates, presidents, and tribunals of election; mayors, echevins, jurats, courts of aid, chambers of accounts, &c. Every thing was at this time transacted in the way of violence and *destruction*; every law voted by acclamation, with little patience and less judgment; thus, when it was proposed to abolish all

titles and hereditary distinctions, armorial bearings, liveries, &c. the democrats would scarcely suffer the question to be debated, and it was carried by a large majority, though so many members of the assembly must have been deeply affected by it.

4. The national assembly was slow in preparing a constitutional code, particularly in deciding upon the three following questions:— Whether such assemblies should be permanent or periodical? composed of one or two chambers? and whether the King's *veto* should be absolute or suspensive? While these things were in agitation, the King had attempted to rescue himself from the trammels imposed upon him, by a timely escape from Paris; but he was stopped on his journey, and compelled to return. At length the assembly terminated its labours; a constitutional act was prepared and presented to the King, of which, after an interval of ten days, he declared his acceptance. Had he been free, it is impossible that he could have given his sanction to a measure which subjected the monarch to the will of a domineering assembly, and was ill-calculated to repress the efforts and designs of a licentious and restless faction. The assembly, however, having thus completed its task, was

dissolved by the King on the 30th day of September, 1791, being succeeded by another convention, denominated "The Legislative Assembly," whose deliberations were confined to the space only of one year; none of the members of the former assembly being eligible to the latter.

5. In the year 1792, Austria and Prussia, in consequence of a declaration and agreement (according to all accounts imprudent) determined upon at Pilnitz, in the preceding year, began to interfere in behalf of the King and royal family, but so far from alarming the revolutionary party in France, their interposition seemed only to have the effect of instigating it to acts of greater violence and more determined courage. War was without scruple declared against the King of Hungary and Bohemia, in the month of April, and every preparation made to resist all counter revolutionary projects. Sweden and Russia had shewn a strong disposition also to interfere; but the assassination of the Swedish monarch, Gustavus III. in 1792, and the distance of Russia from France, prevented both those countries engaging in actual hostilities. In the mean time, Paris became a scene of dreadful confusion; every day some new

faction seemed to arise to baffle the attempts of those who had yet wisdom or temperance enough to prevent things coming to an extremity. The legislature was at the mercy of the Parisian clubs, and of the mobs, too freely admitted into the galleries of the assemblies. The King was insulted in the grossest manner for having ventured to interpose his suspensive negative to the passing of two severe decrees; one against those who had emigrated, and the other against the clergy who declined taking the civic oath. M. la Fayette, who had been appointed to take the command of the army, wrote from his camp to admonish the rational representatives to rescue the country and the King from the factious designs of the enraged Jacobins; but in vain; it served only to exasperate still more the anti-royalists, and to bring fresh troubles on the royal family. The design of the factious seems to have been, either to intimidate the King to a degree of abject submission, or to provoke him to act against the constitution in a manner that might render him liable to the vengeance of the people. The march of the Prussian army, and a threatening manifesto issued by its commander, the Duke of Brunswick, irritated the violent party into a frantic determination to

abolish royalty. The King was supposed, or represented, to be confederate with the enemy, and deeply engaged in a plot with his emigrant brothers, and relatives, to counteract the revolution.

6. A dreadful attack was made on the palace in the month of August, the particulars of which are too disgusting to dwell upon; but it completed the triumph of the demagogues, for in compelling the King's guards to act upon their defence, they had it in their power to charge the King himself with having made war upon his people. Nothing was now heard but the cry of "Liberty and equality." The "Chief of the executive power," as they chose to denominate His Majesty, was formally suspended from his functions, and, under the pretence of *guardianship*, committed with his queen and family to the temple.

7. The assembly appeared from this moment to be as much in the power of the faction as the King. The period has been too justly distinguished by the appropriate title of "The Reign of Terror." The execrable Robespierre was in reality at the head of affairs, and it would be impossible adequately to describe the atrocities of his merciless career. It would exceed the limits

of this work to enter far into particular details. La Fayette abandoned the army, as unwilling to serve under such masters; his conduct has been arraigned, as reflecting at once upon his loyalty, his patriotism, and his courage; it was thought that with the army so much at his disposal as it seemed to be, had his principles been such as he pretended, he would have marched back to Paris, and saved his country and his king from the ruin with which they were threatened. In the meanwhile, the combined troops of Austria and Prussia were approaching the frontiers, differences subsisted in the army; nor was General Dumouriez, who had succeeded to the command on the retirement of La Fayette, generally confided in, either by the army or the faction. To lessen the number of aristocrats, many suspected of belonging to that party were hurried to prison, where, without scruple, and with such barbarity as is not to be paralleled in the records of history, they were almost all assassinated, to the amount, as it has been estimated, of not less than five thousand. This happening on the second of September, all who were concerned in it as principals or abettors, were denominated *Septembrizers.*

8. These were but preludes to a catastrophe, if possible, still more shocking; a murder perpetrated with a studied deliberation, and with all the mockery of legal forms and ceremonies. However hastened by the hostile approach of the confederate powers, and the injudicious threats they threw out, in case any violence should be offered to the King's person, nothing could possibly excuse the perversion of justice, and gross inhumanity which marked the trials of the King and Queen; nothing exceed the melancholy circumstances of their imprisonment and execution! On the 11th of December, 1792, the King appeared before the convention, to hear the charges preferred against him. "You are accused," said the President, "by the French nation, of having committed a multitude of crimes, for the purpose of re-establishing your tyranny by the destruction of liberty." He then entered into a few particulars. The King, with great dignity, replied, "No existing laws prohibited me from doing as I did; I had no wish to injure my subjects, no intention of shedding their blood." Further accusations were pressed upon him, from which he defended himself with the same firmness and simplicity of

language, the same coolness and intrepidity of mind. He declared boldly that his conscience fully acquitted him of the things laid to his charge, and appealed to the whole course of his behaviour and carriage towards them as King, to exonerate himself from the horrid imputation of having been eager and ready to shed the blood of his people. This charge, indeed, rested solely on the events of the 10th of August, when the rabble broke into the palace of the Tuilleries, and not only menaced the lives of the King and his family, but are allowed to have begun the sanguinary part of the conflict by the murder of five of his Swiss guards. It was not till after this event that the rest of these faithful adherents fired upon the aggressors, and drew upon themselves the vengeance which terminated so fatally, for they were all destroyed.

9. It having been resolved that the judgment and decision of the case should rest with the national representatives, the convention met on the 15th of January, 1793, to discuss the question of the King's guilt, upon the charges so loosely and so maliciously brought against him, when it appeared that only thirty-seven were disposed to think favourably of his conduct. Six hundred

and eighty-three members, with little or no hesitation, some, indeed, with the most cruel eagerness and exultation, pronounced him guilty. An attempt was made to procure a reference of the matter to the people; but it was over-ruled by a majority of one hundred and thirty-nine.

10. Having determined the question of his guilt, that of his punishment became the next subject of discussion. It was proposed to decide between detention, banishment, and death. After a debate, in which the amiable monarch seemed to be regarded by many, as despotism personified, no less than three hundred and sixty one, or, according to some accounts, three hundred and sixty-six members, voted peremptorily for death; and on a further question, whether the execution of the sentence should be suspended or take place immediately, the votes for the latter amounted to three hundred and eighty against three hundred and ten. The King was to be informed of the result of their proceedings, and to suffer death in twenty-four hours afterwards. The advocates for the King were allowed to address the assembly, and to move an appeal to the people, but without effect. On the motion of Robespierre, the decree was

pronounced irrevocable, and the King's defenders debarred from any further hearing.

11. On the 21st of January His Majesty, having previously taken leave of his family, and performed the services of devotion, was conveyed to the place of execution; nothing could exceed the pious resignation with which he submitted to the cruel and unjust sentence which doomed him to death, and during his passage to the square of the revolution, where the guillotine was erected, he betrayed no symptoms of fear or anger. On the scaffold he manifested a strong desire to address the crowd, but the drums were made to sound louder, and he was rudely bidden to be silent; in a moment after, his head was severed from his body, and shewn to the people as the head of a tyrant and a traitor!

12. History, both public and private, has borne ample testimony to the falsehood of the charges brought against him; every nation in Europe concurred in condemning the conduct of the French regicides; and though, in exciting the resentment of fresh enemies, England and Spain particularly, it threatened the ruin of the new republic; it appeared by no means to have satisfied the blood-thirsty vengeance of the ruling faction. The democratic, or

republican party, had long been split into two divisions, and their opposition to each other seemed at this time to be at the height. Brissot, who headed the *Girondists*, (so called from the department of *Gironde*, which some of that side represented,) was still alive; Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, directed the movements of the opposite faction; for some time previously called the *Mountain*, from the *elevated seats* they occupied in the hall of the convention.

13. It seemed now to be a question which of these turbulent parties should obtain the ascendancy; and a contest of this nature was not likely to be decided without a much larger effusion of blood. "The Reign of Terror" still continued, and many more victims were preparing for the stroke of that fatal instrument, which seemed to have been timely invented for the quick and incessant course of decapitation and destruction now adopted. Had any thing been capable of producing domestic union, it might have been expected, from the formidable confederacy of foreign powers, armed against the nation; for, in addition to Austria and Prussia, England, Spain, and Portugal, were at open war with France; while a royalist party had arisen within its own confines, of rather a formidable descrip-

tion, considering the strength of the enemies without, and the distracted state of the government.

14. Though such was the situation of the country, with regard to foreign powers, and royalists at home, the struggle between the Girondists and Robespierrean faction was carried on at Paris with the utmost violence and precipitation; but the Mountain prevailed. The leaders of the Brissotines were arrested and confined, in the month of May, and on the 31st of October following, all executed. Brissot himself saw sixteen of his party guillotined before it came to his turn, and four were beheaded afterwards. Many of them were persons of considerable talents, and not destitute of private virtues, had they lived in less turbulent and trying times.

15. Horrible as this execution must have been, one still more appalling had engaged the attention of the people on the same spot, only fifteen days before. Loaded with insults, and deprived of every possible comfort or consolation, "the widow of Lewis Capet," as they chose to call their Queen, (a princess of Austria, and daughter of the high-minded Maria Theresa,) had not been suffered to enjoy one moment of repose from the day of the King's execution;

preparations were soon after made for her own trial, which, if possible, was conducted in a manner still more revolting to every feeling mind, than that which had been adopted in the case of her unhappy consort. Her guilt and her punishment were as soon decided upon; but even after this sad act of vengeance and injustice, shocking circumstances of ignominy, degradation, and persecution took place, scarcely to be credited as the acts of any portion of a people at all advanced in civilization; she was cast into a dungeon, and delivered into the custody of a gaoler seemingly selected on purpose to insult over her misfortunes, and aggravate her sufferings. On the dreadful day of her execution, she was conveyed to the scaffold in a common cart, with her hands tied behind her, amidst the brutal shouts of an infuriated populace. Thus died, in the 38th year of her age, the Queen of one of the greatest kingdoms of the earth; a princess who, though not entirely free from faults, had, till this fatal revolution, lived in all the splendour and luxury of a court, the marked object, not only of *admiration* and *adulation*, but of *homage* so profound, and in some instances so *servile* and *ensnaring*, as to palliate and account for all the errors of her short, but eventful life.

XIII.

GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE AMERICAN WAR, 1783, TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS, 1802.

1. From the peace of Versailles, in 1783, to the commencement of the year 1793, Great Britain kept free from war, though not without some disputes with foreign powers, and occasional calls upon her to interpose, as an ally or mediatrix, in the affairs of other states, Holland particularly. Soon after the termination of the American war, extraordinary changes in the administration took place. The ministry that negotiated the peace, at the head of which was the Earl of Shelburne, was displaced, and succeeded by what was called the *Coalition* ministry, from the extraordinary circumstance of Mr. Fox and Lord North becoming joint secretaries of state, after an opposition peculiarly animated, and a positive declaration on the part of the former, that they differed so in *principle* as to render such an union for ever impracticable.

2. The unpopularity of such an apparent dereliction of principle, as might reasonably be

expected, rendered their continuance in power extremely precarious, and it was not long before their removal was effected, in consequence of a bill brought into Parliament by Mr. Fox, to regulate the affairs of India. The measure was judged to be fraught with danger to the constitution, by throwing too much power into the hands of a board of commissioners, to be chosen by Parliament, and though it passed the commons, it was thrown out by the lords, and the ministry dismissed.

3. Mr. Pitt, a younger son of the great Lord Chatham, now came into power, not in any subordinate situation, but as premier, though at the early age of twenty-four, and under circumstances peculiarly embarrassing, for he had long to contend against a majority of the House of Commons, who threatened to stop the supplies, and effect his removal, as not enjoying the confidence of the people. This being judged too great an interference with the prerogative, and many addresses being presented to the King to retain him in his service, the Parliament was at length dissolved, and the issue turned out to be extremely favourable to the choice of His Majesty.

4. The affairs of India manifestly requiring the interposition of government, Mr. Pitt, as soon

as possible, procured a bill to that effect to be passed, according to which a board of control was to be appointed, not by Parliament, but by the crown. Though this increased in some degree the influence of the latter, it was judged to be far less hazardous than the proposal of Mr. Fox, which threatened to throw such a power into the hands of the minister and his friends, as might enable them to overawe the Sovereign, and render their removal almost impracticable. Mr. Pitt's bill also was found to interfere far less with the chartered rights of the company. It passed the Lords, August 9. 1784.

5. Another measure of considerable importance occupied the attention of the minister, during the year 1786, which was expected to contribute greatly to the support of public credit. This was the establishment of a new sinking fund, by appropriating the annual sum of one million, to be invariably applied to the liquidation of the public debt. At a subsequent period, a sinking fund of still greater importance was established, by which every future loan was to carry with it its own sinking fund. This was proposed to the House in 1792, and readily adopted; it consisted in raising one per cent., besides the dividends upon every new

stock created, to be applied by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, in the same manner, and under the same regulations as the original million. *

6. From the commencement of the year 1786, to the year 1795, the attention of the British Parliament was in a very extraordinary manner occupied with the charges brought against Mr. Hastings, Governor-general of Bengal, in February, 1786. Mr. Burke, whose mind had been long affected by the abuses practised in India, by the servants of the company, had appeared for some years to have fixed his eye upon Mr. Hastings, as a fit object of prosecution; and he now moved for papers to substantiate the charges upon which he meant to impeach him. These charges being discussed in Parliament, during the session of 1787, and referred to a committee, were confirmed by the House of Commons, on the 9th of May, and the articles of impeachment exhibited to the House of Lords, on the 14th; in consequence of which, Mr. Hastings was taken into custody, but, on the motion of the lord chancellor,

* By this provision every loan would have its own fund, which would operate at compound interest, and discharge the debt in forty-seven years at the longest, from the time it was first incurred.

admitted to bail. The trial did not commence till February 15. 1788, was continued not only through the whole of that Parliament, though very slowly, but after much debate, determined to be pending on the commencement of the new Parliament, 1790, and not brought to a conclusion till the month of April, 1795.

7. The question whether the impeachment abated on the dissolution of Parliament, appearing to involve a constitutional point of the highest importance, was discussed with singular attention, and a large display of legal and parliamentary knowledge. The law members of both Houses were never perhaps so divided in their opinions; but the numerous precedents cited by Mr. Pitt, seemed clearly to decide the question as follows: That though legislative processes are abated by prorogation or dissolution, it is not so with regard to judicial proceedings. It appeared to be a nice and curious question, and as affecting the responsibility of ministers, its decision may be regarded as singularly important.

8. Though in the course of the proceedings and prosecution of the various charges against Mr. Hastings, the eloquence of the managers exceeded all that could have been expected, yet never perhaps were so great talents employed

with less success; a trial of such seeming importance, so strangely protracted; or a case of impeachment brought to an issue so little answerable to the expectations that had been excited. It would be impossible to deny that flagrant and enormous abuses had been committed in India during the period in question, yet, the very length of the trial made it appear to most persons in the light of a *persecution*, and that of an individual to whom the company and the nation stood highly indebted for many eminent services. As it ended in the acquittal of Mr. Hastings, that gentleman is to be presumed innocent. One good, however, seems to have arisen from the investigation, all succeeding governors-general have certainly been more circumspect and correct in their proceedings.

9. In the course of the year 1787, great disturbances having taken place in the United Provinces, fomented by the French, and threatening the dissolution of the stadtholderate, an alliance was formed between the courts of St. James's and Berlin, to protect the rights of the Prince of Orange, and resist the interference of the French. Preparations for war took place, but the Prussian army decided matters without

any active co-operation on the part of Great Britain. The alarming state of things in France, appeared to deter the court of Versailles from rendering that assistance to the malcontents of Holland, which the latter had been taught to expect.

10. During the session of 1788, the attention of the House of Commons was first called to the horrible circumstances attending the African slave-trade. It is quite surprising that such a traffic should have been so long carried on, without exciting the resentment of every sensible mind, and disgusting the feelings of a civilized people; unfortunately, when first noticed, it was found to be so deeply interwoven with the interests of our settlements in the West Indies, and to depend so much on foreign states, as well as our own, as to render it almost necessary to proceed slowly and cautiously, though it was impossible not to be horror-struck with the information laid before the House, particularly in regard to what was called the middle-passage, or transportation of the unhappy Africans, from their native shores to the several islands. As it would be inconsistent with the nature of such a work as the present, to enter into the detail of the proceedings upon this very interesting sub-

ject, which took up a long time, and can scarcely now be said to be terminated, it may be sufficient to note, that, after continual renewals of the subject in the two Houses of Parliament, yet, owing to many untoward circumstances, it was not finally abolished till the year 1806, nor has it even yet been in the power of any ministry, or any of our diplomatists, effectually to prohibit the trade, as carried on by foreign states, though every person of humane feelings must devoutly wish and desire that it should be so. It must, however, always redound to the credit of our own country, that the voice of compassion and mercy was first heard amongst us, and that the first arm stretched out to save and to rescue a large proportion of our fellow-creatures from the most abject slavery and cruel tortures that ever were inflicted, was the arm of a Briton.

11. The Parliament being prorogued on the 11th of July, 1788, to the 20th of November, was compelled to meet on the day appointed, by circumstances of a most distressing kind. His Majesty, probably through excess of business, to which he was known to devote more time and labour than could well be consistent with his health, was seized with an illness which totally incapacitated him from discharging the functions

of his high and exalted station. It must appear strange, that by the laws and constitution of the realm, so little provision had been made for a catastrophe by no means out of the line of probability, that it became a question into what hands the suspended executive had devolved, and this led, as might be expected, to very warm and important debates in Parliament. Though the Prince of Wales, being of full age, did not personally claim the regency as matter of right, his party did. The minister, Mr. Pitt, contended that it belonged to Parliament to supply the deficiency; and this question being stated, it was judged expedient to debate it, and settle it by vote. The decision upon this occasion was entirely in favour of the power of Parliament to appoint the regent, none doubting, however, that the heir apparent was the fit object of such appointment. Other questions were agitated at the same time, of equal importance; particularly how far restrictions could be imposed by Parliament, in regard to the exercise of prerogatives, the *whole* of which were reasonably enough supposed to be essential to the government of the country. This question also was decided in favour of the minister, who had proposed restrictions, with an understanding,

however, that they could only apply to a temporary suspension of the kingly power. In this case also, the care of the King's person was assigned not to the Regent, but to the Queen. One great difficulty remained after all the discussions upon the Regency. It was doubted how the Lord Chancellor could be empowered to put the great seal to a commission for opening the sessions of Parliament, so as to restore "the efficacy of legislation;" it was decided that he might be directed to do it in the name of the King, by authority of the two Houses.

12. Fortunately for the public, this first illness of His Majesty was of so short duration, as to render unnecessary all the changes that had been contemplated. Early in the year 1789, the Lord Chancellor was able to announce to the Houses of Parliament the perfect recovery of the King. Nothing could exceed the transports of joy with which this intelligence was received throughout the whole kingdom. A national thanksgiving was appointed, and His Majesty went himself in great state to St. Paul's, to offer up his grateful devotions on the event. The illuminations on the occasion were so general, that it is probable, from the accounts given of them, that scarcely a cottage in the

most remote parts of the island was without its show of loyalty and affection. The appearance of the metropolis in particular was most extraordinary, and notwithstanding the immense concourse of people that continued during almost the whole night in the streets, and the crowded throng of carriages and horses, so strong a disposition was shown by all ranks and descriptions of persons, to conduct things peaceably, that fewer accidents occurred than were ever known before in similar cases.

13. It should be noted, as a matter of general history, that had not His Majesty recovered so opportunely, difficulties of an extraordinary nature might have ensued, from the different proceedings of the two legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland. While in the former it was decided that the Prince could not assume the regency, as matter of right, and that the Parliament had a power to impose restrictions, in Ireland, his right appeared to be acknowledged by the two Houses agreeing to address him, to take upon him immediately the government of that kingdom, during the King's incapacity, and with the usual powers of royalty.

14. In the year 1789, the proceedings in France began to occupy the attention of Europe,

and of England in particular. A struggle for freedom seemed to be so congenial to the spirit of the people of the latter country, that it is not to be wondered that the commencement of so extraordinary a revolution should excite the strongest sensations. Unfortunately the abuses in the French government were so many, and some of them so entirely contrary to every principle of reason and equity, that it soon became apparent that nothing less than a radical change, and revolution of every existing institution and establishment, would satisfy the disturbed minds of that volatile people; minds unhappily prepared not merely to resist oppression, but to throw off every restraint of religion and morality. Such an example, therefore, required to be watched and guarded against, in a country whose free constitution supplied its own means of reformation in every case of necessity, and where tumultuary proceedings could only lead to ends the most fatal and deplorable. Mr. Pitt seemed aware of this, and though his measures of precaution were supposed occasionally to press too hardly on the liberty of the subject, it must be admitted, that a very improper intercourse was at times carried on between the several popular associations in England and Ireland, and the national

assembly of France. The object of the latter in its replies to the addresses presented to it, being, according to all reasonable interpretation of the terms used, to invite and encourage the discontented of all countries to follow their example, which was every day becoming more violent and anarchical. This was not all; emissaries were employed to propagate their principles in other countries, many of whom came to England, and met with an encouragement not to be overlooked by a government properly sensible of the dangers to be incurred by any adoption of such sentiments and principles, in a country so very differently situated from that of France. England had long ago done for herself what France was now attempting; and though no such changes and revolutions can be expected to take place without some violence, yet England had *passed through this ordeal*, and accomplished her point a whole century before France began to assert her liberties. It was little less than an insult to every true Englishman, therefore, to attempt to stir him up to such violent proceedings as had already been countenanced and sanctioned by the French revolutionists; but that such attempts were making, could not but be too obvious. On the 19th of November, 1792, the national

assembly passed a decree, that they would grant fraternity and assistance to all who might wish to recover their liberty. This was two months after they had proclaimed the eternal abolition of royalty, and imprisoned the King; after they had declared hereditary nobility to be incompatible with a free State; and thus, by implication, declared that England and most of the other states of Europe were not free. It was afterwards proved by their own acknowledgment, that before any declaration of war, more than a million sterling had been sent to England from the national treasury of France, for purposes strictly revolutionary. No country was free from these political disturbers; even General Washington, as president of the United States of America, was obliged to publish letters patent, to withdraw his countenance from the accredited French ministers in that country, who had grossly insulted him as head of the executive government.

15. In the year 1790, an unpleasant dispute arose between the courts of St. James's and Madrid, which had very nearly involved the two countries in a war. It related to a settlement on the north-western coast of America, which had been attempted by some subjects of Great

Britain, at Nootka Sound, for the carrying on a fur trade with China. The Spaniards conceiving this to be an invasion of their rights, under a claim to these distant regions the most extravagant and absurd, with great precipitation attacked the English settled there, took the fort which had been erected with the consent of the Indians, and seized upon the vessels. It was not possible to pass over so great an outrage, but by the vigorous and timely preparations made to procure reparation, and the little hope of assistance to be derived from France, in case things should come to extremities, the Spanish court was brought to terms before the expiration of the year, and not only every point in dispute ceded to the English, but many advantages granted with regard to the navigation of the Pacific ocean.

16. In the course of the same year, the British court interfered successfully to restore peace between Austria and Turkey, and was further instrumental, though not without some hindrances, in reducing the revolted Netherlands to the dominion and authority of the former power. Her attempts to mediate between Russia and the Porte, were by no means so successful, and had nearly, indeed, involved the

nation in a war for an object of very little importance in the eyes of the public at large, though the minister seemed to think otherwise. In consequence, however, of the opposition he met with, he was induced to forego the plan he had in view, of preventing Russia getting possession of the town of Oczakow, and a peace was concluded with that power, at Yassi, January, 1792.

17. Towards the close of the same year, after the King of France and his family were in a state of confinement, many attempts were made by the national assembly to ascertain the views of England with regard to the confederacy formed against her, and the question of peace or war seemed nearly brought to an issue, before the horrible execution of the King, in the month of January, 1793. That event being followed by the dismissal of the French minister at London, appeared so totally to dissolve all friendly communications between the two countries, as to induce the French government, by a decree of the assembly, February 3. 1793, to declare war against the *King of Great Britain* and the *Stadtholder of Holland;* in which decree, there was evidently an attempt in the very wording of

it, to separate the *people* of the two countries from their respective Sovereigns.

18. By this time, indeed, the encroaching disposition of the French revolutionists was manifested in their annexation of Savoy to France for ever, as soon as they had gained any advantages over it; and in their conduct in the Netherlands, by declaring the navigation of the Scheld free, contrary to all subsisting treaties with the Dutch. The same spirit was apparent in their refusal to exempt Alsace and Lorrain from the operation of the decrees for the abolition of feudal rights, and in their forcible seizure of Avignon and the contat Venaissin, which had belonged to the Roman see for many centuries. It is true, the indiscreet manifestoes in the combined armies were sufficient to stimulate a people already in a high degree of irritation, to acts of severe reprisal, in all cases of success; but it was very manifest that they had already violated their own principle of not acting on a system of aggrandizement, of which they made such boast at the beginning of the revolution. Their glaring abandonment of this principle, and the injury done to the Dutch by opening the Scheld, were the ostensible grounds of the war on the part of

England. The declaration of France, in some degree, saved the minister from the responsibility of having actually commenced hostilities, however, in the opinion of opposition, he might be said to have provoked them; but it should still be observed, that there was a treaty subsisting between the two *countries* affirming that the recall or dismission of public ministers should be considered tantamount to a declaration of war. If so, and the treaty was not invalidated by the change of things at Paris, as many asserted, the first declaration of war proceeded from the English government, who, on the suspension of the kingly authority, had recalled Lord Gower from Paris, (many other courts, however, having done the same,) and, on the death of the King, abruptly dismissed the French minister, M. Chauvelin, from England.

19. The exact objects of the hostile interference of England were never formally explained in Parliament, though in the King's declaration they were regarded as too notorious; every thing conduced to render it apparent, that they had in view as much to oppose the propagation of anarchical principles, as the violence of territorial aggressions; that, previously to the declaration of war on either part, the English

government had shown a disposition not to interfere with the internal affairs of France, seems manifest from many circumstances.

20. It is not necessary to enter into the details of the war that took place after England joined the confederacy. The extraordinary progress and success of the French appertains to the history of that country, and may, therefore, be found elsewhere. Though the British troops fought with their accustomed bravery, and obtained in their first campaign some signal advantages, yet, owing in some measure to the want of harmony and cordiality between the confederates, but still more to the overwhelming force of France, now risen *en masse*, they ultimately met with great reverses, and were compelled to abandon the country they had undertaken to defend; but though unsuccessful by land, on the ocean England maintained her wonted superiority. Many of the French West India islands fell into her power in the summer of 1794, and a most decisive victory was gained by Lord Howe over the Brest fleet, on the 1st of June. The island of Corsica also was subdued, and by the Anti-gallican party, with the celebrated Paschal Paoli at their head, erected into a monarchy, the

kingly power and prerogatives being freely conferred on His Majesty George III. In the month of October, however, 1796, the French party recovered the ascendancy, and the island being evacuated by the English, was re-annexed to France.

21. At the conclusion of the year 1794, though France had on the continent made surprising acquisitions, the spirits of the English were far from being shaken, and the utmost efforts were cheerfully made for continuing the contest on the ocean; and in all the colonies of the enemy, the advantages were clearly on the side of the British, during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797, when negotiations for peace took place, but without being brought to any favourable issue. At the close of 1797, His Majesty, attended by the two houses of Parliament, and the great officers of state, went to St. Paul's, to offer up a public and national thanksgiving for the naval victories obtained in all parts of the world; upon which occasion, many flags and colours taken from the French, Spaniards, and Dutch, were borne in solemn pomp to the cathedral, and deposited on the altar. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm with which the British nation at this period appeared

disposed to resist the threats of the enemy. The national militia having offered to transfer their services to Ireland, to suppress a rebellion which had broken out there, volunteer corps were formed in all parts of the kingdom to supply their place, and the people were readily induced to submit to a measure of finance, then first addopted, namely, of raising by a triple assessment, (afterwards converted into an income and property-tax,) a large proportion of the supplies wanted for carrying on the war *within the year;* so much, in short, of the loan as should exceed the sum discharged by the operation of the sinking fund, so that no addition should be made to the permanent debt.

22. In the year 1798, the affairs of Ireland occasioned great difficulties. A regularly organized rebellion, the leaders of which were in constant communication with the enemy, threatened totally to dissolve the connexion subsisting between that country and Great Britain, and to invite the aid and co-operation of France, at the manifest hazard of rendering Ireland a dependency of the latter power as had already been the case with Savoy, Belgium, Lombardy, and Venice. Ireland had but lately obtained concessions from England, of no inconsiderable

importance, a free trade, and the recognition of her political independence; but the Catholics were dissatisfied with the national representation, to the defects in which they attributed the continuance of the penal statutes still directed against them. The French revolution led to the formation of the society of United Irishmen, in 1791, which had many reforms and changes in view, though short perhaps of an entire revolution. In 1795, from representations made to it of the oppressed state of Ireland, the French government regularly proffered its assistance to subvert the monarchy, and separate Ireland from Britain. Fortunately the plans of the traitors were timely discovered, and though it was not possible to prevent a recourse to arms, which afflicted many parts of the kingdom, between April and October, yet the principal ringleaders were for the most part seized, executed, or compelled to fly, and under the able government of Lord Cornwallis, tranquillity was happily restored, with less difficulty and damage than had been expected.

23. The situation of affairs in Ireland during 1798, led in the following year to the project of an *Union* between the two countries, which Mr. Pitt submitted to the British Parliament in the

form of a message from the King, January 22. 1799. The Irish legislature having been declared independent in 1782, it was obvious that no such measure could be carried into execution without the free consent and acquiescence of the Irish Parliament. Many circumstances seemed to conduce to render the proposed union desirable and beneficial to both nations, and at this particular moment, to reconcile most people to it. The catholics of Ireland had become dissatisfied with the parliament of that country, while the protestants, who were greatly outnumbered by the catholics, though they possessed four-fifths of the property of the kingdom, had good reason to suppose their interests and ascendancy would be best secured in one united and imperial parliament, than in a distinct legislature, in a country where the catholics had already obtained the elective franchise, and composed the bulk of the population. They might also reasonably apprehend the consequences of the overtures that had been made to France, and the alarming progress of revolutionary principles. In the case of the Regency, the dangers incident to two distinct legislatures, had been rendered sufficiently apparent. On all these accounts, though the measure was at first

very coldly entertained, and even rejected by the Irish House of Commons; the minister was greatly encouraged to proceed, by the strong support he received in both countries, from persons of all ranks and parties. A series of resolutions was proposed to the House, to be laid before his Majesty, recommendatory of the proposed union, which, after some opposition, was sent to a committee by a majority of 140 to 15. In the Lords, the address passed without a division; a protest however being entered on the books, signed by three Lords, Holland, Thanet, and King.

24. The last year of the eighteenth century was distinguished by the most important events in India, where the English, under the government of the Earl of Mornington, totally defeated the most ungrateful, insidious, and powerful enemy, the forces in that remote country ever had to contend with; Tippoo Saib, the Sultan of Mysore, son of the celebrated Hyder Ally Khan, who had usurped those dominions in 1761. In the years 1784, and 1792, treaties of peace had been concluded between the Sultan and the English, which, however, had had very little effect on the former, who had shown himself constantly attached to the French in-

terests; and having been compelled by the last treaty to cede one-half of his dominions to the conquerors, and to deliver two of his sons as hostages into the hands of Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, appears to have harboured the most inveterate hatred against the English from that moment, and to have meditated, by the aid of the French, and certain of the native powers, nothing less than their total extirpation. It would be impossible, perhaps, to find in history stronger instances of duplicity and treachery, than were practised by this celebrated potentate against the British interests, during the years 1797 and 1798, in the spring of the latter of which, Lord Mornington arrived in India. With the French Directory, with the French colonial government in Mauritius, with the King of Candahar, with the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad, with Bonaparte in Egypt, and even with the Ottoman Porte, at the same time, the wily Sultan managed to carry on secret negotiations, amidst the strongest professions of amity and attachment towards the English government. It has been conjectured, that had he obtained effectual aid from the French, in extirpating the English, he would as willingly have turned against his European abettors; the pur-

port of all his negotiations with the *native* powers, being to stir them up to a general combination against the *Infidels* and enemies of the *Prophet*, without any distinction of the two nations.

25. By the extreme vigilance and cautious proceedings of the new Governor-General, the intrigues of the Sultan, notwithstanding his reiterated assurances of fidelity, were so amply discovered and exposed, as to vindicate, in the fullest manner, the declaration of war which took place in February, 1799, and which was speedily followed up by the most vigorous proceedings on the part of the army, terminating in the capture of Seringapatam, the capital of the Mysorean dominions, May 4., and the death of the Sultan, whose body was found after the action, covered with heaps of dead. His immense territories were divided amongst the allied powers, the remains of his family provided for in the Carnatic, and a boy of five years old, the surviving representative of the Hindoo dynasty, restored to the throne of his ancestors.

26. In the first year of the new century, the projected *Union* and incorporation of the two legislatures and kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, was brought to a conclusion. Doubts were expressed in the Irish House of Commons,

and supported by great strength of argument, whether, as a delegated body, and without a fresh appeal to their constituents, they could formally consent to their own annihilation. Strong suspicions also were thrown out that the plan had no other object in view than that of recovering to England the domination she had surrendered in 1782, when the independency of the Irish legislature had been fully, and, as it was alleged, finally acknowledged and established; but these objections were over-ruled. It was no surrender, it was urged, of their legislative rights, to consent to be incorporated with the Parliament of Great Britain, but a consolidation of them; and their consent would acquire a character from the regulations of 1782, highly honourable to the nation; she could now treat as an independent state, and upon a footing of equality, instead of being in any respect compelled, as might otherwise have been the case, to an union of subjection. Early in the year 1800, the assent of the two Houses of Parliament, in Ireland, was signified in addresses to His Majesty, transmitted through the Lord-Lieutenant, which being submitted to the British Parliament, after much discussion and debate on the bill in general, as well as its several

provisions, the union of the two kingdoms was finally arranged to take place from the first of January, 1801.

27. The act of incorporation contained eight articles: the first three decreed the union of the two kingdoms, the maintenance of the protestant succession, and consolidation of the Parliament. By the fourth, it was settled that four prelates should sit alternately in each session, and twenty-eight lay peers be elected for life, while two members for each county, (thirty-two in all,) and thirty-six citizens and burgesses, should represent the Commons. The fifth article united the churches of England and Ireland; the sixth and seventh provided for the commercial and financial arrangements of the two countries, and the eighth, for the maintenance of laws then in force, and continuance of the courts of judicature.

28. On the first of January, 1801, a royal declaration was issued, regulating the style and titles appertaining to the Imperial crown of Great Britain and Ireland, with the arms, flags, and ensigns thereof. In these arrangements, the opportunity was judiciously taken of laying aside the title of King of France, and the French arms; the title in English was confined to Great Britain and Ireland; in Latin, "*Britanniarum*

Rex," and the quartering of the "*fleurs de lis*," omitted in the blazonry.

29. A fresh revolution in the government of France, about this time, having thrown the executive power, in a great measure, into the hands of a supreme magistrate, the first consul, and overtures for peace having been made by Bonaparte in that capacity, much discussion upon the subject took place between the ministers of the two countries, but without effect. The Austrians having sustained a defeat in Italy, had solicited and obtained a suspension of hostilities, and entered upon some negotiations for peace, to which England was invited to become a party, upon consenting to a naval armistice, but her maritime power stood so high, that while Malta continued subject to France, and the French army unsubdued in Egypt, she could not reasonably be expected to forego such advantages, and to place herself upon a footing with her continental ally, whose situation was so different. Her determination to continue the war, was soon followed by the surrender of Malta, on the 5th of September, 1800, and in the course of the next year, the French troops were compelled finally to abandon Egypt; thus terminating an expedition, in a great degree mysterious, but

which, no doubt, might have led to the disturbance of our power in India, had it not been for the interruption it met with on its way thither, and the overthrow of Tippoo Saib.

30. In the course of the year 1800, the enemies of England were greatly increased by the revival amongst the northern powers of the armed neutrality, originally devised and adopted in 1780. As this dispute involved a very curious point of international law, it would have been well, if it could have been brought to such an issue as might have settled the question for ever; but, after much negotiation, and some very unpleasant conflicts at sea, (particularly with the Danes,) seizures and embargoes, the matter terminated rather in an uncertain compromise, than any positive adjustment. The right of search by belligerents, however inconvenient to neutrals, seemed to have been acknowledged for many centuries, as a principle of maritime law; upon the system of the armed neutrality, it was contended that ships under convoy should pass free, the flag of the neutral power being sufficient pledge and security that the cargoes were not contraband of war. The claim in this case being evidently directed against England, then, and at all times mistress of the sea, rendered it

a point of extreme importance; one which she could not surrender without a contest, or armed negotiations: otherwise, and if it had not been decidedly in favour of her opponents, the countenance given to the new system by so many states of Europe, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Naples, France, Spain, Holland, Austria, Portugal, Venice, and Tuscany, (for by some steps or other they all seemed disposed to adopt the spirit of it,) might have been expected to amount to a formal recognition of its principle, as a proper law of nations; the dispute, however, upon this occasion, was settled at Petersburg, by negotiation, after the accession of the Emperor Alexander, and attended with concessions on the part of the Baltic powers, of singular importance, though less complete than they might have been, owing to the counter concessions of Britain. Thus, though it was decided that enemy's property, embarked on board neutral ships, should be liable to confiscation, and that the right of searching merchant ships, even under convoy of a ship of war, should be recognised, yet, it was at the same time determined that arms and ammunition only should be considered as contraband, and that the right of searching merchant ships under convoy should appertain exclusively,

to vessels belonging to the royal navy. If not entirely decisive, however, the stipulations of this celebrated convention highly deserve to be looked up to as a proper standard of the rights of neutrality.

31. During the contest that arose with England, out of this confederacy of the northern powers, the King of Prussia, one of the contracting parties, saw fit to take possession of the King of Great Britain's electoral states of Hanover, but on the change of affairs in Russia, was speedily induced to restore them.

32. By the treaty of peace concluded at Luneville, between the Emperor of Germany and France, February 9, 1801, England was left without an ally, and a change of ministry having taken place about the same time, may be said to have laid the foundation for more serious negotiations for peace, on the part of England and France, than had hitherto taken place since the commencement of the revolution. Nothing, however, seemed to hasten it so much as the defeat of the French army in Egypt, and the settlement of the differences between England and the Baltic powers, which enabled her to negotiate with more advantage, and greatly lowered the spirit of the French govern-

ment. Preliminaries were signed on the first of October, 1801, and a definitive treaty concluded at Amiens, between Great Britain and the French republic, Spain and Holland, on the 25th of March, 1802. By this treaty, England obtained Ceylon from the Dutch, and Trinidad from the Spaniards, relinquishing all her other conquests; Malta being given back to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, under the guaranty of the principal powers of Europe.

XIV.

FRANCE, FROM THE DEATH OF THE KING AND QUEEN, AND OVERTHROW OF THE GIRONDIST OR BRISSOTINE PARTY, 1793, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DIRECTORY, 1795.

1. THE situation of France towards the close of the year 1793, was deplorable in the extreme. It lay at the mercy of a faction, not merely blood-thirsty, but which nothing but blood would satisfy. The Jacobins, or Robespierrian party, determined to root out every thing that could, by the remotest implication, be denounced as adverse to their plans, procured a decree to be passed, exceeding every thing that can be conceived in atrocity. Such was the "Loi sur

les *suspects,*" passed in September, by which their agents in all parts of the country, were empowered to arrest, imprison, and thereby doom to destruction, whomsoever suspicion in any manner attached to, not merely as principals but as connected with principals, however unavoidably, naturally, or accidentally. One article alone will explain the rest. The following are the persons denounced in the 5th: — All of the ancient class of nobility; all husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, sons, or daughters, brothers, sisters, or agents of emigrants, who shall not have *constantly* manifested *an attachment* to the *revolution.* The Queen, the twenty-two victims of the Girondist party, and General Custine, may be considered as among the earliest and most distinguished persons that fell under the power of this horrible faction. The Duc d'Orléans, though not belonging to the Girondist party, was denounced by Robespierre himself, as connected with them, and publicly executed on the 6th of November; but his life and conduct, both public and private, had been such, that he fell totally unregretted. It would be vain to attempt to relate the many dreadful events which marked this bloody period. It is to be hoped history will never again have to record such complicated cruelties and miseries,

such premeditated murders, such studied tortures, mental and bodily.

2. On the 17th of November of this memorable year, the Catholic religion, (at the instance of an *Archbishop of Paris*, Gobet!), was publicly abjured by the convention, and decrees past amidst the most tumultuous acclamations, for substituting a religion of *Reason* in its room. The churches were quickly despoiled of their ornaments, the altars destroyed, civic feasts instituted instead of religious festivals, and *Liberty*, *Equality*, &c. consecrated as objects of worship. These revolutionary and anti-catholic decrees were moreover ordered to be translated into *Italian*, on purpose that they might be transmitted in that most intelligible, and therefore most offensive shape to the *Pope*. The calendar underwent also a correction. A new republican form and æra being adopted and established, to commence from the 22d of September, 1792, the day on which the national convention began its sittings, and royalty was abolished. The year was divided into twelve parts, of thirty days each, distinguished according to the prevalent seasons, *Vendemaire*, September and October; *Brumaire*, October and November; *Frimaire* No-

vember and December; *Nivose*, December and January; *Pluviose*, January and February; *Ventose*, February and March; *Germinal*, March and April; *Floreal*, April and May; *Prairial*, May and June; *Messidor*, June and July; *Thermidor*, July and August; *Fructidor*, August and September. The sabbath was abolished, and five complimentary days added, all commemorative of the revolution. Each month was divided into three decades, and a respite from labour allowed on every tenth day.

3. It was not possible to suppose that those who ruled during this dark "*reign of terror*," could long be suffered to retain their power and station in the republic. Fortunately for the good of human society, their very crimes rendered them jealous and suspicious of each other, so that before many months had passed, after the execution of the Queen and the Brissotines, the earth was rid of such monsters, proscribed and driven to the scaffold by their own friends and associates in wickedness; Robespierre, from whom the faction chiefly took its denomination, being at length accused, condemned, and executed, in the course of a few hours, in the month of July, 1794, to the satisfaction of the whole civilized world, though it has indeed been said that the very extraordinary circumstances in

which he was placed, hurried him into acts contrary to his natural disposition, and that in some instances, he exerted himself much to check and restrain the excesses of his party. Yet it is impossible now to rescue his name from the reproaches heaped upon it, in all the accounts that have been given of those disastrous times. Before this great day of retribution, however, one more victim of royalty was brought to the scaffold, whose sole offence must have been the heroic display she had made, in her constant attendance upon the King, her brother, and his most unhappy family, of every amiable virtue that could adorn a woman. The Princess Elizabeth, who had continued in the Temple with the two children of the unhappy Lewis XVI., from the period of his execution, was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, accused of "accompanying the late King when he attempted his escape;" of having "attended upon and administered help to the wounded in the conflict with the guards;" and of "having encouraged her infant nephew, Lewis XVII., to entertain hopes of ascending the throne of his father;" and upon *these* charges sentenced to die, May 10. 1794, and executed without pity or remorse.

4. It was during the year 1793, that Napoleon Bonaparte, a native of Corsica, had first an opportunity of distinguishing himself in the French armies, being employed in the direction of the artillery at the siege of Toulon, which had fallen for a short time into the hands of the English, but was recovered by the particular skill and manœuvres of the young, and at that time, almost unknown commandant. Hitherto the war against the powers in opposition to France, had been carried on in a most desultory and extraordinary manner, with more success certainly on the part of the French than could have been expected, from the extraordinary condition and circumstances of their armies, and the strange state of responsibility in which their commanders were placed by their rulers at home. Some of their generals were compelled to desert, many were proscribed, and many after displaying the utmost valour in the field, were actually brought to the scaffold. Nevertheless, the impulse given to the revolutionary army, by the circumstances of their country, aided by mistakes and jealousies on the part of their opponents, enabled it to combat effectually against much better organised troops, and to resist the attacks that were made upon it in all quarters; for in addition to the Austrians and Prussians, Sardinians,

English, and Spanish, in La Vendee and other departments, a civil war prevailed, where many acts of heroism, indeed, were displayed by a brave, but unsuccessful band of royalists, who ultimately paid dear for their revolt, by the most horrid and disgraceful punishments.

5. The French revolution had now attained that pitch of extravagance and disorder, which left no hopes of any check or termination, but that which actually ensued, namely, a military despotism. According to the remarks of one of the ablest members of the first national assembly, one who was sacrificed at the period we have been treating of, in a way the most treacherous and revolting to every feeling mind, the French revolution, being undertaken, not for the sake of men, but for the sake of opinion, had no distinct leader, no Cromwell or Fairfax. All were leaders, all institutors, all equally interested in the course of affairs. Such a revolution, he observes, must be commenced by all, but he was sagacious enough to foresee that it would probably be terminated by *one*. All, however, for a certain time, being leaders and institutors, nothing could ensue from such a state of things, but continual struggles to be uppermost; continual denunciations and pro-

scriptions of rival parties; and a strange succession of new constitutions, and new forms of government, as any opening seemed to occur for bringing things to a settlement.

6. The death of Robespierre, and many of his accomplices, clearly afforded such an opening, if not for settling, at least for ameliorating things; but for some time the convention and the nation seemed to be in too great a surprise and consternation to proceed with any method to so desirable an end. The former having had its origin in the days of anarchy and confusion, seemed little prepared to defend or support its own dignity, but the cry of humanity began again to be raised, and to be heard, and in no long course of time after the defeat of Robespierre, the Jacobin club, from which had emanated all the previous acts and decrees, so disgraceful to France, was abolished and dissolved, by a decree of the convention. The reformation of the laws and government gave greater trouble. The pain of death had been decreed against any who should propose to set aside the constitution of 1793, and with this sentence hanging over them, all the people had sworn to uphold and maintain it. Tired, however, of the absolute and uncontrollable power they had exercised, many members, even of the convention, sincerely

wished for more limited authority. A committee was appointed to prepare a new code of laws, and, in the mean time, processes were carried on against some of the most violent of the abettors of the late tumults and disorders, particularly the commissioners who had sanctioned the most dreadful proceedings at Lyons, Nantes, Orange, and Arras. The execrable law under which they had acted, "Loi des suspects," was repealed, and a just vengeance directed against those who had been most forward to carry it into execution.

7. At length a new constitution was framed, presented to the convention, and approved. Two legislative councils, one of five hundred members, and the other of two hundred and fifty, were to enact the laws; the former to propose, the latter to sanction or reject them. The executive government was committed to five directors, chosen by the legislature, but whose responsibility was ill-defined, and their connection with the legislative bodies not sufficiently provided for, either as a balance, or controlling power. It was not without other faults and blemishes, but it may undoubtedly be regarded as making a much nearer approach to order and regularity than the one which it was intended

to supersede. It was formally accepted and proclaimed, September 23. 1795. *

8. This may be considered as the third constitution established since the first meeting of the states-general, in 1789; great objections were made to one article, which secured the return of a very large proportion of the members of the convention, to serve in the new legislature. Tumults were raised in the sections of Paris, and an attack made upon the convention, which, however, was at last rescued from the violence of the mob. Bonaparte, who was then at Paris, was appointed to act upon this occasion in defence of the Assembly.

9. Externally, the affairs of France may be said to have been at this moment in a high and extraordinary degree of prosperity. The campaigns of 1794 and 1795, committed to the charge of very able generals, Pichegru, Souham, Jourdan, Kleber, Moreau, and Dugommier, had hitherto succeeded beyond their utmost expectations. The Belgian states, and the united provinces, had not only been wrested from the hands of their defenders, the Austrians, Prussians, and British, but associated with the French republic

* The directors being Reubel, Letourneur, Laréveillere-Lepaux, Barras, and Sieyes; but the latter declining the honour, Carnot supplied his place.

in a close confederacy. The stadtholdership was again abolished, and the stadtholder and his family obliged to take refuge in England. In the mean time, peace had been concluded with many of the belligerent powers, highly advantageous to France; with Prussia, Spain, the Langrave of Hesse, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and others; while the navigation of the rivers Rhine, Meuse, and Scheldt, had been rendered free, in all their course and branches, to the people of France. These proceedings with regard to the Belgian states and Holland, were the commencement of a system pursued from that time on all the frontiers of the new republic. By a decree of the national assembly, the French generals were directed to proclaim everywhere the sovereignty of the *people*, to suppress all authorities and privileges, to repeal all taxes, and establish provisional governments on democratic principles. By this system of "*Fraternization*," as it was called, the subdued countries being formed into republics, "*Republiques Satellites*," as they were significantly denominated by the French themselves, were associated with France, as subordinate states. Of the states first revolutionised in this manner, the Batavian republic took the lead, surrendering to France without hesitation, the chief of her

fortresses, and thus extending, and at the same time protecting her frontier. The mistake she made in thus welcoming the French, was but too soon discovered. The French levied heavy contributions; the English took from them many of their foreign settlements, and particularly the Cape of Good Hope, and the island of Ceylon.

10. In the month of June, 1795, Louis XVII., the unfortunate son of Louis XVI. died in the Temple, under circumstances extremely suspicious and very deplorable, having been some time in the custody of a low-born drunken wretch, who did every thing he could to insult and torment him, and undermine his health. He was in the eleventh year of his age at the time of his death. His sister, the princess royal, (the present Duchess of Angoulême) was soon afterwards most happily released from her miserable prison, whence a father, mother, and aunt, had been successively led to execution, and where an only brother had died a victim to cruelty, and perhaps poison. Her Royal Highness was exchanged for certain members of the late convention, who had been delivered up to the allies, by the generals who had incurred the displeasure of their rulers at Paris, or had fallen into the hands of the enemy by other accidents.

XV.

FRANCE, FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DIRECTORY, 1795, TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

1. THE appointment of the five directors, was an act of policy on the part of the ruling members of the convention, who thought it better to hazard such a division of the executive power, than to give umbrage to the people, by the renewal of a first magistrate, though an elective one. As these new officers, however, owed their nomination to the influence of those members of the late convention who were chosen to form a part of the legislative body, a close union was soon found to subsist between the directors and the majority of the council.

2. The council of ancients, consisting of two hundred and fifty members, at first appeared to form the bulwark of the new constitution; having no share in the framing of the laws, they were able to interpose with the greater dignity in pronouncing their judgment upon such as were referred to them, and often exercised the restored privilege of the *Veto* beneficially for the public. The judicial murders of the reign of terror were terminated, and the government displayed, in many instances, a return to moder-

ation and humanity, extremely desirable and praiseworthy, but in the southern department, a system of re-action and retaliation prevailed, which it was beyond their power to control. An organized body of assassins kept all those parts of the nation in a state of incessant alarm. The metropolis was in some degree restored to its wonted gaiety, but every thing bespoke, as might reasonably be expected, a most demoralized state of society. The stage became intolerably licentious, and the public amusements were disgraced by a freedom of manners and indelicacy of dress on the part of the females, beyond measure offensive. Those whose nearest connections had been doomed to the scaffold, could find no better mode of commemorating their loss, than by *festive* meetings, called "*Bals à la Victime*," to which no one could be admitted but such as had lost a father, a mother, a husband, a wife, a brother, or a sister, by the guillotine!

3. Hitherto the prowess of the French armies had been manifested much more in the north, and on the Rhine, than in the southern parts of the continent; towards Italy, the Austrians and Piedmontese seemed to hold the French in check. Dugommier had indeed invaded Spain with effect, and by his attacks contributed to bring about a peace with that country; but now a new scene

was about to open, leading to such a succession of victories and revolutions as it would be impossible fully to describe in such a work as the present.

4. Early in the year 1796, General Bonaparte obtained (being then in the twenty-sixth year of his age,) the chief command of the army of Italy, as it was called. His eagerness to commence operations drew upon him some remonstrances. It was suggested to him that many things were wanting in his army necessary to the campaign. "I have enough," said he, "if I conquer, and too many if I should be beaten." The Austrian army in those parts was commanded by General Beaulieu, an officer peculiarly active and enterprising. It was much more numerous than the other, and much better provided. General Bonaparte took the command of the French army on the 30th of March, and between the 11th and 15th of April, beat the Austrian troops in three distinct engagements, at Montenotte, Millesimo (or Montelezino), and Dego. In the space of four days, it has been computed, that the Austrian army was diminished to the amount of 15,000 men, being separated at the same time from their Piedmontese allies. The Commander of the French army had managed so artfully to enter Italy in such a manner, as exactly to divide the Sardinian and Austrian

armies, placing himself between Milan, which the latter were bent upon defending, and Turin, which the former could not desert. After the battle of Dego, Bonaparte advanced rapidly into Piedmont, nor did he stop till he had arrived at the very gates of Turin. There he agreed to an armistice solicited by the King, who was ignominiously compelled to submit to his occupying with French troops all the principal fortresses of his country, happy to be allowed to retain the capital. He was also obliged to cede Savoy, Nice, Tende, and Beuil. From Turin, Bonaparte pursued his course into Lombardy, and by the celebrated battle of Lodi, on the 10th of May, obtained complete possession of the Milanese.

5. Unwilling to enter immediately into the narrow parts of Italy in this stage of his proceedings, he satisfied himself with threatening the Pope and the King of Naples, till he brought them to terms of peace; the former surrendering to the French republic, Bologna, Ferrara, and the coasts of the Adriatic, from the mouths of the Po, to Ancona; and the latter consenting to contribute largely to the maintenance of the French army, and to close his ports against the enemies of France. The Dukes of Parma and Modena, made submission in time to save their countries. The Grand Duke of Tuscany had previously acknow-

ledged the French republic, but was bidden very peremptorily to exclude the English from the port of Leghorn. The submission of all these princes and states to the overwhelming force of the army under the command of Bonaparte, was but part of the victory he obtained over them. In every step he took, he was careful, by new laws, treaties, and political arrangements; by changing the governments, transferring them from the hands of the priests and nobles, to those of the people, to "*revolutionize*" the countries over which he obtained an ascendancy by arms, and to incorporate them with the French republic; thereby rendering them points of support to all his operations, (though it must be owned, they tried to break loose, whenever things seemed to take a turn against the French). Savoy, Nice, and the Milanese, were thus brought under his dominion, and ultimately erected into distinct though subordinate republics.

6. It was at the very commencement of the military career of this extraordinary man, that he adopted a system of plunder, not unknown indeed in ancient times, but never perhaps carried to so great an extent, and which, for a long time, engaged the attention of the whole civilised world. In all the treaties concluded with

the Italian princes, he stipulated that French artists should be admitted into their public galleries, museums, and palaces, to select as many as they might choose, of the choicest performances of the celebrated painters and sculptors of all ages, and cause them to be conveyed to Paris. French sentiment has dwelt upon the circumstance of the immortal Raphael, Titian, and Domenichino, having thus had it in their power, and in such critical moments, to pay the ransom of their native countries, overlooking the sad violation of sentiment occasioned by the removal of these precious pledges of their stupendous talents from the hands which had so long preserved them, and from places of which they had been so justly regarded as the choicest and most valuable ornaments. Some of these spoils indeed were *exotics*, having been, as is well known, previously removed from other places.

7. The siege of Mantua was attended with many severe conflicts,—conflicts in which the army of Italy was cruelly left to contend at all points against numerous reinforcements of the enemy under Generals Wurmzer and Alvinzi. On the reduction of that important place, Bonaparte is stated to have thus addressed his soldiers: "The capture of Mantua terminates a

campaign which has justly entitled you to the everlasting gratitude of your country. You have triumphed over the enemy in fourteen pitched battles, and seventy inferior engagements; you have taken more than a hundred thousand prisoners, five hundred * field-pieces, two thousand battering cannons, and four pontoon trains. The country you have subdued has nourished, maintained, and paid the army during the whole campaign, and you have remitted thirty millions (of francs) to the minister of finance, in aid of the public treasury. You have enriched the museum at Paris, with more than three hundred of the choicest and most valuable works of art, both of ancient and modern Italy, and which it had taken thirty ages to produce."

8. Though it may be questionable how far even the public accounts of French victories, at this period and afterwards, are to be depended upon, yet there can be no doubt that the above address does pretty fairly describe the extraordinary rapidity and extent of Bonaparte's first operations in the field. The years 1796 and 1797 were indeed marked by such surprising instances of this nature, that they deserve a place

* The numbers differ in some accounts.

in history, though the prudence and good generalship of such precipitate steps have been reasonably questioned. Mantua capitulated on the 2d of February, 1797, and Bonaparte, after having compelled the King of Sardinia to supply troops against Austria, thereby securing his rear, pursued his course in the direction of the Austrian capital, leaving Italy behind him, with a view of penetrating to Vienna. Though obliged to fight his way, he succeeded, March 2. 1797, in taking possession of Gradisca, which laid open to him the provinces of Goritz, Carniola, and Carinthia.

9. The Austrian grand army was commanded by the Emperor's brother the Archduke Charles, an able general, a great favourite with the soldiers, and who had combated the French on the Rhine with signal success. He was not, however, strong enough to await the approach of the French, who soon reached Léoben, only thirty leagues from Vienna, where great consternation was excited, and the imperial family compelled to retire. As both armies, however, were brought into a very critical position, negotiations were entered into at this place, an armistice concluded on the 8th of April, and preliminaries of peace signed on the 15th of the same month, 1797.

10. Before we notice the celebrated treaty of Campo-Formio, by which the peace was settled and confirmed, it may be fit to consider the state of those countries which Bonaparte had left behind on his march upon Vienna. He had made peace on his own terms (most advantageous ones for France) with Parma, Modena, Rome, and Naples. He had overrun Savoy, forced the King of Sardinia into an alliance with him, obtained possession of the Milanese, and reduced Mantua. He had erected Genoa into the Ligurian republic, and the Milanese he converted into the Cisalpine republic, after having first given it the name of Transpadane, in reference to the river Po, and in contradistinction to the Cispadane republic, consisting of Modena, Bologna, Reggio, and Ferrara, confederated in 1796. He had passed Venice on his way to Trieste, of which he took possession on the 3d of April, 1797. The Venetians had afforded an asylum to Lewis XVIII., and wavered greatly in taking part either with the Austrians or the French, not being able to calculate upon the issue of the contest. They had also fallen into domestic broils and dissensions, which, added to other most unwise provocations, gave the French commander the opportunity he always sought,

of introducing a French army to allay their differences. The tri-coloured flag was soon planted in St. Mark's Place; the Lion of St. Mark, and the celebrated Corinthian horses, were removed to Paris; twelve sixty-four-gun ships, as many frigates, and other vessels, sent to Toulon; the Ionian islands taken possession of, and the whole *terra firma* revolted against the capital. These things enabled Bonaparte greatly to improve the peace he was making with the Austrians. Albania and the Ionian islands he kept to himself; to the Cisalpine republic he assigned the western dependencies of Venice, reserving for Austria, the capital, Istria, Dalmatia, and the islands of the Adriatic, in exchange for the Netherlands, and the Duchy of Luxemburg. By this extraordinary manœuvre, he not only delivered the Venetians over to the very power from whom he had offered to protect them, but he obtained from Austria the very object for the sake of which her English allies had refused to make peace in 1796. Such appears to have been the chief foundation of the celebrated treaty of Campo-Formio, concluded between the Emperor and the French republic, October. 17. 1797.

11. Previously to the conclusion of the treaty of Campo-Formio, the allies had lost three of

their confederates, the Dukes of Wirtemburg and Bavaria, and the Margrave of Baden, all of whom had found it necessary to purchase peace of the directory by heavy contributions. Such great advantages in its external relations were, however, far from contributing to the internal tranquillity of the republic. The first five directors, as might naturally have been expected, were by no means accordant in their views, or of equal talents and abilities; and provision seemed to have been made for fresh revolutions, by the continual recurrence of new elections, both in the legislative assemblies and directory. One of the five directors was annually to go out, and one-third of each of the legislative bodies to be renewed. The first event of this kind, as might be expected, revived all the jealousies of rival parties, and produced an explosion almost as violent as any that had yet occurred; the explosion of the 18th of Fructidor, as marked in the short-lived republican calendar. Le Tourneur quitted the directory by lot, and was succeeded by Barthelemi, who soon appeared inclined to join Carnot against Reubel, Barras, and Larevillière-Lepaux. The three latter were for assuming a despotic power; their opponents were divided, some inclined to the restoration of

royalty, others to the emancipation of the councils from the sway of the directors, Reubel and his two associates; but as they formed a minority, and their enemies were prompt in their measures of revenge, and had moreover the command of the military, it was not long before the latter obtained the victory they sought. On the 4th of September, 1797, the legislative assemblies were surrounded with troops, and at the instance of the three ruling directors, two of their colleagues, (Carnot and Barthelemi,) several members of the two councils, many public ministers, and many men of letters, declared guilty of anti-republican measures and principles, arrested and imprisoned; and, on the 5th, sentenced to deportation to the unhealthy and remote settlement of Guiana, in South America. The authors, editors, directors, and proprietors, of no less than forty-two public journals were included in the sentence. Some of the proscribed members found means to escape; but those who were conveyed to Guiana, suffered dreadfully from the voyage; many died from the unwholesomeness of the place, some found means to return to Europe, particularly General Pichegru and the ex-director Barthelemi, who were conveyed to England from the Dutch settlement of Surinam.

12. Bonaparte returned to Paris not long after these disturbances, and was received with peculiar honours. The people began to look up to him for deliverance from the tyranny of the three directors; and the latter were as eager to remove him from the metropolis. In the midst of the honours paid to him, on account of his victories in Italy and Germany, Barras, with great emphasis, nominated him as the hero destined to place the tri-coloured flag on the Tower of London. Troops were actually assembled on the coasts of Flanders and Normandy for the purpose; but Bonaparte himself, seeing the impracticability of such an attempt, meditated a more distant expedition.

13. In the course of the year 1798, the system, begun so successfully in Flanders and Holland, of revolutionizing the countries into which the French armies should penetrate, was carried to a great extent. Watchful to seize upon every opportunity afforded them by internal dissensions, the French this year obtained possession of Rome, Switzerland, the Pays de Vaud, the Grisons, and Geneva, under circumstances peculiarly distressing to the existing governments, and commonly attended with heavy exaction, and the plunder of their

churches, palaces, and museums. The Pope was driven from Rome, partly by his own subjects and partly through an overweening confidence in his own power and influence. The Roman republic was proclaimed February 15. 1798; and the finances being found in a bad state, the Vatican and other public buildings stripped of their contents. The Pays de Vaud, whither the French had been invited, to protect them against the aristocratic despotism of the Bernese, was formed into the *Leman*, and Switzerland, after many cruel sacrifices, into the *Helvetic* republic, or rather into three republics, for that was ultimately the arrangement adopted; provisional governments being in all places appointed, conformably in a great degree to the principles of the French constitution. No remonstrances on the part of the free cantons could save them from the directorial decrees. An address to this effect, peculiarly pathetic and eloquent, from the cantons of Schwitz, Uri, Appenzel, Glaris, Zug, and Underwalden, had no effect whatever in preserving them from a change of constitution, *forced* upon them by *democratic* France. The degenerate *Romans* had appeared to pride themselves upon emulating their heroic an-

cestors, in re-establishing the republic under the *auspices* of *Gallic invaders*. But the brave Swiss resisted to the utmost the rude disturbers of their ancient freedom. The modern republicans of Rome chaunted a Te Deum, to hallow their deliverance. The Swiss sung their antiquated songs of patriotism and freedom, till the most dire necessity compelled them to surrender their established constitution to the dictates of a French directory.

14. On the 5th of May, Bonaparte left Paris for Toulon, to take the command of an expedition, the real object of which has scarcely been ascertained to this day, though it appears most probable that he designed to join Tippoo Saib in India, and to subvert the British empire there. At all events, as far as regarded Egypt, it was a most unprovoked invasion on the part of the French, being previously at peace and in amity with the Turks. He was accompanied by many artists, naturalists, and antiquaries, and a large proportion of the army which had served under him in Italy. Malta lying in his way to Egypt, he failed not to take possession of it, partly by force, and partly by intrigue, subjecting that island and its dependencies, Goza and Cumino, to the French republic, June 12. 1798.

Its conquest had for some time previously been meditated, but it had lately been put under the protection of the Emperor of Russia, Paul I.: it was treated by the French as ill as other places, notwithstanding the utmost assurances to the contrary. The knights were driven from the island, many of the people compelled to join the French army, and new laws imposed under the authority of the directory. In the month of July this year, 1798, a triumphant entry into Paris, of all the works of art collected in the several places subdued by the French arms, took place, amidst the acclamations of the people. The French fleet had narrowly escaped at Malta the pursuit of an English one, under the command of Nelson; and after the subduction of the island, it was able to proceed, still undiscovered, to Egypt, where the English had already been to look for them in vain. On the 2d of July, Bonaparte took possession of Alexandria, mooring his fleet in the bay of Aboukir. In less than three weeks from his landing, and after a severe action with the Mamelukes, called the battle of the Pyramids, Cairo, and the whole of the Delta, fell into his power; but his triumph was lessened by the loss of his fleet, on the 1st of August, which, being attacked in the bay by

Nelson, was almost totally destroyed or taken, the French Admiral Brueys being killed and his ship burnt; four ships only, two of them frigates, were all that escaped. When Bonaparte left Toulon, his fleet consisted of 400 sail, including thirteen ships of the line, and it was rather increased than otherwise by his enterprize at Malta.

15. The victory of Nelson gave a new turn to the war against the French. On his quitting Egypt, he carried his fleet to Naples, where the utmost joy was manifested by the court, at the blow which had been given to the French preponderance. The Queen invoked the Austrians to renew the war against France; and the expedition to Egypt and attack upon Malta having excited the Czar, and even the Grand Signor, to resist aggressions so unprovoked and alarming, Francis II. was not insensible to the call made upon him. England was not backward to encourage and aid such movements, in every part of Europe. The King of Sardinia and the Grand Duke of Tuscany shewed themselves willing to join the new confederacy; but the King of Prussia was not to be prevailed on to abandon his neutrality.

16. The Neapolitan court, which had been the foremost to excite this new war, were the first sufferers from it. Having invaded the territories of the church, and even obtained possession of Rome, they were suddenly driven back by the French, the capital taken, and the royal family compelled to retire to Palermo, in Sicily. Naples was not taken possession of without a formidable insurrection of that extraordinary portion of its population, the *Lazzaroni*, with whom the King, whose amusements were often unbecoming his high rank, happened to be popular. This resistance provoked reprisals exceedingly distressing to the inhabitants, and almost ruinous to the city; the tumult, however, was at length appeased, and the kingdom of Naples converted into the *Parthenopean*, or *Neapolitan republic.*

17. The King of Sardinia, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, were also made to pay dear for the renewal of hostilities, both being deprived of their dominions, as allies of the Neapolitans, and compelled to abandon their capitals. The aged Pope, who had, indeed, by many unwise provocations irritated the French, a refugee in the Tuscan territories, unwilling to accompany the deposed princes in their retreat from

Florence, and too confidently relying on the reverence that would be paid to his years and station, was actually arrested in his monastic retirement, and conveyed to Valence, in Dauphiny, prisoner, where he died broken-hearted, August 29. 1799. On the establishment of the consular government, his body was honorably interred, and a monument erected over him.

18. But the directory, in the midst of these arbitrary seizures of states and kingdoms, acted with too little foresight, as to the effects of the formidable confederacy of Russia and Austria. The French armies were widely separated, and many of the most successful generals, through a pernicious jealousy, disgraced and removed from their command. This disheartened the soldiers; and reverses were preparing for them both in Germany and Italy. The Russian army, under Souvaroff, entered the latter country early in the spring of the year 1799, and on the 18th of April was at Verona. The character and manners of this northern general, made a great impression both upon the allied armies and upon the inhabitants of the countries he invaded. The French, under the celebrated Moreau, were obliged to fall back, leaving the Milanese exposed to the combined forces. After various

actions, Milan was invested; and, after a nineteen days' siege, taken May 24. Turin, Alessandria, Mantua, and Tortona, were reduced in the months of June and July; and in most of these places, as well as in other parts of Italy, Tuscany, Naples, and Rome, great indignation was manifested against the French, of whose tyranny they had all tasted, and of whose friendship they were already become weary. In a short time, the French retained, of all their conquests in those parts, only Genoa and Savoy.

19. While these things were going on, the councils at Paris began to distrust the government of the directors, and to ask why Bonaparte was at such a distance. Inquiries of this kind were often put to his brother Lucien, who had a seat in the council of five hundred. A party was formed against the most obnoxious of the directors, and three found it necessary to retire. Another revolution in the government was evidently preparing. Bonaparte's absence and object seemed equally mysterious. It was supposed that he meant to open the old channel of trade between the East Indies and the Mediterranean. After the destruction of his fleet, as though banished from France, he appeared eager to establish a colony in Egypt, which, perhaps, was

originally in his view, in carrying thither all that the arts and sciences of Europe could contribute of utility or beauty. All his works were superintended by persons of known celebrity for talent and knowledge of every description; but he was turned from this object by the jealousy of the Turks, who, after the battle of Aboukir, (or of the Nile, as it is generally called in England,) were ready enough to join the English in attacking the French, confined, as it were, within their territories. Bonaparte, to be beforehand with them, marched into Syria, where the Pacha of Acre, a man of most ferocious character, commanded. He succeeded in taking many fortresses, and for three months maintained a war in the very heart of the country, but his artillery having been intercepted by the English, who had also been admitted into Acre, his attempts upon the latter place were frustrated, and, being threatened on all sides, he resolved to return to Egypt; there he received letters to inform him of the reverses in Italy, and the disorders at Paris, and to press his return; but the Turks had landed at Aboukir, and taken possession of the fort, and it was judged necessary for his fame that he should not quit Egypt without beating them. He hastened

to attack them, and succeeded; but not without many severe conflicts, and an eight days' siege of the fortress of Aboukir. Soon after this success, he embarked clandestinely for France, leaving the army under the command of General Kleber, (who complained greatly of being so duped and abandoned,) and in a very extraordinary manner escaped all the English ships cruizing in the Mediterranean. General Kleber was afterwards assassinated.

20. Bonaparte arrived just in time to take advantage of the distracted state of the government. The legislature was a prey to faction; the directors divided in opinion; the Jacobins and Anarchists extremely troublesome, and not unlikely to recover their sway; while many departments were in a state of insurrection and civil war. Sieyes, the most wise and politic of all that had yet been in the directory, foresaw the necessity of a change, and wanted only some military genius to support his measures, and to whom he could confide his designs. Three other important characters appeared to rest their hopes on the interference of Bonaparte; Fouché, minister of police; Cambaceres, minister of justice; and the ex-minister for foreign affairs, Talleyrand Périgord.

21. Within a month after the arrival of Bonaparte, a proposal was made in the council of ancients, to remove the legislative bodies to St. Cloud, and to confer on Bonaparte the command of the troops at Paris. At the moment the decree was passed, Bonaparte, accompanied by many of the generals who had distinguished themselves under him, appeared at the bar, denouncing threats against all who should traverse the decree just passed. The council of five hundred taken by surprise, made some show of resistance; and Bonaparte appearing amongst them, gave such offence, that he was in danger of assassination, amidst the cries of "Down with the tyrant!" "No dictator!" His brother Lucien, at that time president, was loudly called upon to pronounce a decree of outlawry against him, which he evaded by throwing aside his official dress, and renouncing his seat in the assembly; after which, Bonaparte, in some alarm, having joined his troops, the meeting was dissolved, and violently dispersed by the soldiery. It was allowed, however, to assemble again under the former presidency, the jacobinical members being excluded, when a new order of things, approved by the council of elders, was brought forward, decreed, and proclaimed. The directory was

abolished, and *three* new chief magistrates appointed under the name of consuls, while committees were formed to prepare a new constitution. Eighty persons were to compose a senate, one hundred a tribunate, and three hundred a legislative body.

22. The time seemed now to be arrived when the excesses of the revolutionary movement had prepared men's minds for a transition from a state of anarchy to one of despotism. Popular liberty had fallen into disrepute from the violences of the jacobins; and a strong executive government seemed indispensably necessary to restore things to any degree of order and consistency. Though the *five* directors appeared to be exchanged for *three* consuls, there was, in the last instance, no correspondent division of power and authority. To the first consul were assigned functions and prerogatives exceedingly distinct from those of his colleagues. "Unity of thought and action was declared to be a fundamental quality in the executive power." So far they were evidently going back to the first and best principles of monarchy. Hitherto, however, an elective and limited consulate was all that was contemplated. General Bonaparte was appointed first consul,

Cambaceres the second, and Le Brun the third; the first two for ten, the last for only five years; Bonaparte, to say the least, having all the power of a king, though not the name, assigned to him, — a power approaching too near to absolute and uncontrollable despotism.

23. In the first discharge of his new functions, however, he was careful to display a spirit of moderation, forbearance, and conciliation, in many popular acts at home, and overtures of peace to England. The latter were without effect, and a large subsidy being granted by the British parliament, to enable the Emperor to continue the war, no time was lost by the French in endeavouring to recover their footing in Italy. In the month of May, 1800, the first consul left Paris, to take the command of the army in those parts; and after a most surprising passage through the mountainous parts of Switzerland, and the capture of the town of Costa, with the celebrated fort of Bard, succeeded so far as to be able to enter Milan once more in triumph, the Austrians retiring before him, little expecting that he could find a way into Lombardy by the road he had chosen. The Russian army had been withdrawn in

disgust, after the proceedings in Switzerland, which had greatly offended the czar. Previously to the entrance of the first consul into Milan, the French, under Massena, had been compelled to evacuate Genoa: but the Austrians were doomed to suffer a reverse; and though in the famous battle of Marengo, which took place on the 14th of June, they fought with the most desperate courage, and sustained an action of fourteen hours with great heroism, and the fairest prospects of success, the enemy received reinforcements at so critical a moment as to enable them to obtain a complete victory, which was soon followed by a suspension of hostilities, solicited by the Austrian general.

24. Negociations for peace were entered into at Paris, and the preliminaries were signed; but, through the remonstrances of the English government, (as it is supposed,) the Emperor refused his ratification, and the war was continued, both in Germany and Italy, till the 25th of December, 1800, when another suspension of hostilities being agreed to, at Steyen, a town in Upper Austria, soon led to the treaty of *Luneville*, between the French republic and the *Empire*, signed February 9. 1801; by which the Rhine was made the boundary of the French

republic, leaving the several princes dispossessed, in part or in whole, of their territories on the left side of the river, to be indemnified in the bosom of the empire; the Adige, in the same manner, being fixed to be the boundary between the Austrian territories in Italy and the Cisalpine republic. The Grand Duke of Tuscany renounced his dukedom in favour of the infant duke of Parma, created King of Etruria; and the independence of the Batavian, Helvetic, and Cisalpine republics were recognized and guaranteed by both parties.

25. The English government had refused to enter into a naval armistice, though in danger of being deserted by the Emperors of Germany and Russia, and had declined every offer of peace upon such terms, while Malta and Egypt continued in the hands of France. But, after the recapture of the former, and the defeat of the French under Menou, at Alexandria, in September, 1801, both parties seemed more disposed than before to enter into negotiation, with serious views of bringing things to an accommodation. On March 27th, 1802, a definitive treaty was signed at Amiens, more favourable to France than to England, though nothing could exceed the joy expressed in the

latter country on the termination of hostilities with the French republic. It was soon found to be no better than a truce of very short duration.

26. The power of the French republic, at this moment, was enormously great. In addition to the former possessions of France, it had gained the Netherlands, and a considerable portion of Germany; Geneva, Piedmont, and Savoy had been incorporated with it; Holland and Switzerland were rendered effectually dependent upon it. The Cisalpine republic, including the Milanese, the duchies of Modena, Mantua, and Parma, and part of the Venetian and Roman territories, was placed under the presidency of the first consul for a term of ten years. Genoa, or the Ligurian republic, had been recovered by the treaty of Luneville; Spain was entirely at the command of France, as well as Tuscany, under its new possessor, the vassal King of Etruria. It had recovered also its West Indian settlements, and acquired a considerable footing in South America.

XVI.

FRANCE, FROM THE PEACE OF AMIENS TO THE TREATY OF TILSIT, 1807.

1. It has been already observed, that the first steps of the consulate were of a conciliatory nature. Endeavours were made to pacify the rebellious departments; the law of hostage, which had been in its operation extremely vexatious, was repealed; and the list of emigrants closed. On the first change of the government, measures were taken to repress the violence of the jacobins, and awe the factious; but the sentences passed on the most obnoxious were afterwards mitigated.

2. Soon after the conclusion of the peace of Amiens, the first consul gave great satisfaction to the bulk of the nation, by restoring the catholic religion. On Easter-day, 1802, the peace was ratified in the metropolitan church, with all the sanctions of the ancient religious forms, and a large attendance of new prelates. The basis of the convention with the pope had been settled and arranged in the preceding year upon the following principles: — That a new division of the French dioceses should be

made, suited to the republican division of the country; and that the first consul should nominate the new archbishops and bishops, leaving it to the Pope, as a matter of course, to confer canonical institutions. The bishops to appoint the parish priests, subject to the approbation of government. The Pope to procure the ancient bishops to resign, and to engage not to disturb the alienated property of the church. No bull, rescript, &c., from the court of Rome, no decrees of synods, or general councils, to be received or promulgated, without the consent of government. No national or diocesan meeting to take place without the same authority; or any nuncio, legate, or vicar, to be allowed to exercise his functions.

3. Such were some of the principal articles of the *concordatum* of 1801. The Pope seemed to be glad to make any concessions that might recover France from the depths of infidelity; while the articles themselves plainly shew that the first consul, in restoring catholicism, had no intention to subject the nation, as heretofore, to the dominion of the Roman see, even in spiritual matters. A still stronger proof, however, of which, appears in the liberty afforded, at the same time, to the Lutherans and Calvinists, who were placed nearly upon the same footing with

the Catholics; and were even allowed to have three seminaries of education; two in the eastern parts of France, for the Lutherans, and one at Geneva, for the Calvinists. Provision was also made in the new concordatum for the supposed case of a protestant being chosen chief magistrate of the republic.

4. On the second of August, 1802, by an extraordinary expression of the public will, the consulate, the term of which, in the case of Bonaparte and Cambaceres, had been limited to ten years, was conferred on the former for life. The original proposal had been only to extend the term; but the people in the different *communes* being called upon to give their opinion, voted, almost unanimously, for its being continued to the first consul for life, which was readily sanctioned by the senate.

5. This appointment was soon followed by a new form of constitution, calculated to throw greater power into the hands of the first magistrate, who was permitted, not only to nominate his colleagues, but to make war, form alliances, conclude peace, pardon criminals, and virtually to choose the members of the legislative body, by means of the senate, which was almost entirely under his influence. He was careful, at the same time, to put the governments of the

Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, and other newly acquired states, upon a similar footing, reserving to himself, in all cases, the supreme power as first magistrate. All these steps were so artfully taken, as to appear to be the regular result of popular choice and deliberation. Liberty, equality of civil rights, and national representation, were professed to be the objects in view; but care was taken to render each dependent on the domineering influence and directions of the first consul. It was at this period that the Cisalpine was converted into the Italian republic.

6. Switzerland was not so easily to be brought under the French yoke, though its struggles for liberty and independence were finally unavailing. Many of the cantons displayed an almost invincible attachment to their ancient constitution, and resisted, in every way they could, the menaced invasion of their rights and privileges; but the more they were divided amongst themselves, which unhappily proved to be the case to a high degree, the greater opportunity was afforded to the despotic ruler of France to interpose his offices to restore peace, nominally as a mediator, but really and effectually to the subjugation of the country, which, when reduced, was in mockery declared to be free and

independent. Remonstrances on the part of the English court, are supposed to have had some effect in mitigating the rigour of his exactions, and rendering the new constitution, prepared for them, more congenial to their feelings than might otherwise have been the case.

7. In 1802, by the death of the Duke of Parma, and in virtue of a previous convention with Spain, the first consul, in the name of the French republic, took possession of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, and incorporated them soon after with France. The only son of the deceased Duke of Parma, by a Spanish princess, having assigned to him, by the treaty of Luneville, the Tuscan states, under the title of the kingdom of Etruria.

8. Though, by the above treaty, the indemnification of those princes whose rights and property had suffered from the progress of the French, seemed to be left chiefly to the decision of the Diet of the Empire, Bonaparte found means to interfere to his own advantage, favouring those most from whom he had the most to fear, or who were most likely to be subservient to his views. For the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the Margrave of Baden, he secured the electoral dignity; while the indemnifications were provided

for by the secularization of many ecclesiastical states, on the right side of the Rhine.

9. It was soon found that, by the peace of Amiens, little cordiality was produced between the two nations. The first consul professed to be bound by that treaty only to particular specified points, and appeared through his agents, secret or avowed, to be preparing for a renewal of hostilities. He had some reason, it must be confessed, to be offended with the liberties taken with him in some of the public journals of England at this time; and though it can scarcely be supposed that peace could be his object, yet he appears to have been provoked and irritated by the distrust of the British government and nation. So early as the month of May, 1803, the two countries may be said to have been again in a state of war with each other.

10. On this quick renewal of hostilities, the first consul, in requital it was said of the seizure of French merchant ships by the English without due notice, had recourse to a most extraordinary measure, in detaining all the English who happened to have come over to France during the peace, for business or pleasure, as a sort of hostages for the future conduct of their country. He also projected a powerful invasion of England,

which had only the effect of rousing the latter country to such vigorous and patriotic exertions as entirely to frustrate all his schemes and intentions. A levy *en masse* was proposed, subject to the regulations of Parliament. As another act of vengeance against England, an army was sent to occupy Hanover, though the King, in his electoral capacity, had determined to remain neuter.

11. The first consul had now, for some time, exercised not only kingly, but almost despotic power, and artfully placed himself in such a situation of control and influence, with regard to all the public bodies, assemblies, and councils of the nation, that it is not to be wondered that he should have aspired to, and obtained, the highest dignities it is in the power of a nation to bestow; though, had he acted with less prudence and policy, nothing certainly could have occurred more surprising than the undisturbed elevation of a Corsican adventurer to one of the most splendid thrones of Europe. By an organic senatus consultum of the 18th of May, 1804, Bonaparte was declared EMPEROR of the FRENCH. The title to be hereditary, as to his immediate descendants, and, in case of failure of male issue, granting him a further power to

adopt the children, or grand-children, of his brothers. All laws were to originate with the sovereign, or to be proposed in his name; and due care was taken, by rendering the legislative body and tribunate dependant on the senate, in the appointment of which the Emperor was to have almost the whole power, to prevent the passing of any laws contrary to his will. The Imperial title thus conferred on him was acknowledged by most of the states of Europe, though not by England.

12. This assumption of the Imperial title by Napoleon Bonaparte, and the subsequent confederation of the Rhine, led the Emperor of Germany, Francis II., to abdicate the Germanic empire, and to change his title to that of Emperor of Austria, thereby securing the same hereditary honour to the House of Hapsburgh, and at the same time, not entirely resigning his political relationship to the states and empire of Germany.

13. On the 2d of September, 1804, Napoleon was crowned in the church of Notre Dame with extraordinary pomp and splendour, having previously invited, or rather compelled, the humbled pontiff of Rome to be present at the ceremony, and to anoint him. His empress,

Josephine Beauharnois, to whom he had been some time married, was crowned at the same time.

14. One of the first acts of the new Emperor was to change the name of the *Code civil des Français*, introduced under the consular government, for that of the *Code Napoléon*. His two brothers, Joseph and Lewis, and his two colleagues, Le Brun and Cambaceres, were declared *Grand Elector*, *Constable*, *Arch-Chancellor*, and *Arch-Treasurer*, of the empire; and the dignity of Mareschal was conferred on the most distinguished of his generals. But, in order to give more stability to his throne, or intimidate his enemies, under pretence of a *Royalist* conspiracy, he had many eminent persons brought to trial; among others, the two celebrated generals, Pichegru and Moreau. The former was, soon after, found dead in his prison, under circumstances implying little less than a most deliberate murder; the latter, an equal object of dread and alarm, and whose death was probably contemplated, was permitted, however, to retire to North America. It is scarcely credible, though it certainly appears upon record, that the French minister at Berlin was directed to move the King of Prussia to deliver up the unfortunate Lewis XVIII., then at Warsaw, and to send him

to France, to answer for the concern he was stated to have had in this conspiracy.

15. Having obtained the imperial dignity in France, Napoleon appeared dissatisfied to be only president of a republic with regard to his Cisalpine conquests. Means were found to induce the constituted authorities of the new Italian Republic to offer to him the crown of Italy, an offer he was quite prepared to accept, as though the whole of that devoted country had been already subdued. On the 26th of May, 1805, he repaired to Milan, and taking the famous iron crown from the altar of the cathedral, placed it on his own head, denouncing vengeance against all who should dispute his right to it. Having done this, he appointed the son of the Empress Josephine, Beauharnois, to be his viceroy, and agreed, that upon his death the two crowns should be separated. Soon after he seized upon Genoa, dispossessed the doge and senators of their power, and decreed that henceforth the territories of the Ligurian republic, as it was called, should be annexed to France. These rapacious proceedings at length provoked a fresh confederacy against him, so that before the year was passed, not only England, but Russia, Prussia, and Austria, were in arms to

resist his encroachments. Sweden had joined the confederacy, but retired in disgust; such, however, was the dread of the power or vengeance of France, that several of the German princes, particularly the Elector of Bavaria, sided with Napoleon, in opposition to the Emperor Francis.

16. By sea the power of the French and Spaniards combined failed of gaining any advantages over the allies. On the 21st of October, 1805, in the battle of Trafalgar, a complete victory was obtained by the British fleet, under Lord Nelson, who perished in the action. There was a disparity in the number of ships, in favour of the French and Spaniards, of thirty-three to twenty-seven. On the continent, the course of the war was very different. The King of Prussia was dilatory in his proceedings, and even treacherous. Sweden had withdrawn. The Emperor Francis employed an inefficient commander, if not worse (General Mack,) and the Russians, who were more in earnest, were baffled by the unsteady proceedings of their allies, and distressed by want of provisions, sickness, and fatigue. After the battle of Austerlitz, in December, the Emperor of Austria, whose capital had been in the hands of the enemy,

solicited peace, submitting to surrender what had been allotted to him of the Venetian territories, together with the principalities of Lucca and Piombino; and to acknowledge Bonaparte as King of Italy. Bavaria acquired a part of the Brisgaw and Tyrol. Such were the terms of the peace of Presburgh, October, 1804.

17. The secession of some of the German states from the Emperor of Austria, had, in the mean time, produced changes that require to be noticed. The Electors of Bavaria and Wirtemburgh were elevated to the rank of kings of their respective countries; and Eugene Beauharnois, Viceroy of Italy, son of the French Empress Josephine, obtained in marriage the daughter of the new King of Bavaria; though she had been previously betrothed to the Prince of Baden.

18. The Court of Naples, during this war, through the injudicious, but natural, resentment of the Queen, sister to the late unfortunate Queen of France, had the misfortune to incur the high displeasure of Napoleon, by admitting a British and Russian army to land on its territories. The French despot lost no time in pronouncing sentence on the rebellious neutral. He quickly made it known that the

Bourbon dynasty had ceased to reign at Naples. The royal family was compelled to retire to Palermo, and, in a short time after, Napoleon conferred the Neapolitan crown on his brother Joseph; much to the discontent, however, of the people, who for some time gave him great disturbance. Joseph was proclaimed king, March 30. 1806.

19. The Emperor of the French had another kingdom in view for his brother Lewis, Constable of France. Holland had submitted to several forms of government, without obtaining that order and tranquillity which was supposed to be in the contemplation of those who directed her affairs. It was suggested that a monarchy would remedy all the disorders to which she was exposed; and it was hinted, too plainly to be misunderstood, that it would be agreeable to the Emperor if the leading persons of the state, not the community at large, would give countenance to such a change. So great was the infatuation, or timidity, of the persons to whom these suggestions were made, that they did not scruple to *solicit* the appointment of the Emperor's brother, who declared himself King of Holland accordingly, June 5. 1806. To the credit of the new king, it should be observed, that he soon fell

into disgrace with his imperial brother by being too lenient to his subjects, and by endeavouring to mitigate the rigour of the French decrees.

20. In the year 1806 Napoleon succeeded in subverting the constitution of the German empire, by detaching many of the principal states, chiefly of the western and southern divisions of Germany, to form what was denominated "*The Confederation of the Rhine*," by which the several princes consented to renounce the laws of the empire, to contract a federative alliance with the French Emperor, and to supply him with troops whenever he should demand them. In consequence of this gross defection of so many members, the Emperor, by a solemn edict, abdicated the government of the Germanic empire, absolving all the electors, princes, and states from the obligations by which they stood bound to him, as their legitimate head; thereby terminating, as it were, a government which had subsisted for a thousand years, and been uninterruptedly confided to the House of Hapsburgh from the year 1438.

21. It seemed as if every thing, at this time, was doomed to fall before the power of the Corsican. Prussia, which had hitherto acted a most unwise part, in neglecting to add its

weight to the confederacy of 1804, and even submitting to be cajoled into an alliance with France, became, in the course of the year 1806, sensible of her error; but to no good purpose. She now precipitately entered into a war, for which she was ill-prepared, with no support but that of Saxony; and having put her army under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, sustained two signal and almost fatal defeats, at Jena and Averstadt, laying the capital open to the advance of the enemy, who entered it in triumph; and, being too well received and entertained by the people, did not fail, as in all other cases, to take due advantage of their willing submission. In the course of the contest, the Saxons were detached from Prussia, and the Duke of Brunswick being wounded, and obliged to quit his dominions on the advance of the French, died miserably at Altona; Napoleon, in resentment, meanly refusing to suffer his body to be buried amongst his ancestors.

22. It was during his sojournment in Berlin, November 1806, that the French Emperor dictated that extraordinary decree, declaring the British islands to be in a state of blockade, though he had no naval force capable of interrupting their commerce in any part of the

world. By this decree the whole trade of Britain was proscribed; no intercourse of any sort was allowed to take place; all British subjects on the Continent were threatened with arrest and confiscation of property, and every port shut against English vessels, in Prussia, Denmark, the Hans Towns, Holland, Flanders, France, Spain, Italy, &c.

23. The progress of the French, in the territories of the King of Prussia, occasioned fresh alarm to the Emperor of Russia, and to the British government, and procured for Frederick that assistance which his former supineness and intrusion on the Hanoverian States might very reasonably have rendered hopeless. The King of Sweden was also subsidized by England, to send an army into Pomerania; but all the efforts of the allies were insufficient to stop the career of the French. The Russians fought many severe battles, at Eylau, Friedland, &c., but were unable to prevent the French getting possession of Dantzic and Konigsberg; losses so severely felt by the King of Prussia, as to compel him to conclude a separate peace, as a conquered enemy; while Napoleon, with consummate art, not only persuaded Alexander to abandon the King of Prussia to his fate, but to

form an alliance with himself, for the further spoliation of the Prussian dominions, and to concur in arrangements very adverse to the general interests of Europe, and serviceable only to his own family. By the treaty of Tilsit, July, 1807, the Emperor of Russia agreed to acknowledge the Rhenish Confederacy, now consisting of many states, and *Joseph* and *Lewis* Bonaparte, as Kings of Naples and Holland. He suffered the French Emperor to confer on his youngest brother, *Jerome*, with the title of King of Westphalia, the Prussian provinces between the Elbe and the Rhine, the states of Hanover, and the territories of the Duke of Brunswick and Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, while the greater part of Prussian Poland was given to the Elector (now king) of Saxony, with the title of Duke of Warsaw; and by secret articles, as it has been alleged, most of the usurpations of the French, in all parts of Europe, were sanctioned and confirmed, and very extraordinary engagements entered into, relative to all the other states and powers of Europe, particularly Turkey, Spain and Portugal, Denmark, and the Papal Dominions. During the whole of the years 1806 and 1807 the German states were undergoing continual changes, through the overbearing tyranny

of Napoleon. All the princes who joined the Rhenish Confederation were rewarded with titles or territorial possessions; all who favoured the allies, dispossessed of their dominions, and declared enemies of France. To particularise all these revolutions, few of which were permanent, would exceed the limits of the present work.

24. Among other acquisitions resulting from the treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon recovered the Ionian Islands. These islands, subsequent to the treaty of Campo-Formio, had been greatly agitated and disturbed, and it seemed difficult to know what to do with them. In March, 1800, however, by a convention between Russia and the Porte, it was settled that Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Ithaca, Cerigo, St. Mauro, and Paxo, should be formed into one state, under the guaranty of the contracting parties, by the name of the Ionian Republic. By the treaty of Amiens, 1802, Napoleon engaged to acknowledge the Septinsular Republic; but, by the treaty of Tilsit, it was restored to him again by Russia. This treaty, in short, appeared to be dictated entirely by the despot of France. Prussia, abandoned by her Russian ally, suffered dreadfully. The King of Sweden refused to become a party to this memorable convention,

and manifested a determination to resist to the utmost the encroachments of the French; but he had little judgment or prudence to direct him; and he had not the means to contend against such an adversary as Bonaparte. After many ineffectual attempts to save Stralsund, and keep his army in Pomerania, he was at length compelled to retire, with the loss both of Stralsund and the Isle of Rugen.

XVII.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL FROM 1788 TO 1814.

1. THESE two countries are by nature so connected, that though their interests are, and generally have been, very different, and the people little disposed to friendly associations, yet, with regard to the affairs of Europe, they have very commonly been involved in the same troubles, and never long permitted to enjoy tranquillity, while the leading powers of the Continent have been engaged in war. This has been already sufficiently manifested in the history of these two contiguous kingdoms, during the former part of the eighteenth century, but has been rendered still more conspicuous by the events of the subsequent years.

2. Charles IV. of Spain, came to the crown in December, 1788, when the French revolution was just beginning; and it was not till some few years after, and in the midst of the reign of terror, that his kingdom became involved in the disturbances of that great catastrophe. The Spaniards, in the year 1793, offended with the violence offered to the royal family of France, had invaded the latter country, and taken the town of Bellgarde, little foreseeing the speedy and severe reprisals to which they were exposing themselves. Early in the year 1794, the French, under General Dugommier, invaded Spain, and succeeded not only in beating the Spanish army, but in securing the occupation of many places of importance. These successes were not only available to the restoration of peace with Spain, but procured for the French, by the treaty of 1795, the Spanish portion of the valuable island of St. Domingo, in the West Indies, and, in 1796, an alliance with the Spanish monarch against England, — an alliance fatal to Spain in many respects; her fleet being beaten by the English in battle off the Cape of St. Vincent, the Island of Trinidad taken from her, and retained by Great Britain at the peace of Amiens,

and her commerce crippled and impeded in all parts of the world.

3. Though she sought, by a large subsidy to France, to be permitted to remain neuter, after the renewal of the war in 1803, yet she was not long allowed to be at peace. In 1804, the English, suspicious of her close connection with France, seized upon some of her treasure ships, coming from South America, with a suddenness, judged by many to be not strictly justifiable; and, in 1805, war was formally declared against Great Britain. But in this new war she was again doomed to suffer misfortune, her fleet being totally beaten by Lord Nelson, on the 1st of October, 1805, in the celebrated battle off Cape Trafalgar. (See Sect. XVI. § 16.)

4. During the year 1806, Spain appeared disposed to break with France, had any misfortune befallen the latter power; but her successes in Prussia seem to have intimidated Spain, and to have induced her, in 1807, through the manœuvres of Godoy, the Spanish minister, who had a view to the principality of Algarves, to enter into a regular treaty with France, for the partition of Portugal.

5. Hitherto the latter country, since the elevation of Bonaparte to the chief magistracy,

had been suffered to remain neuter. The reigning Queen having been declared insane, the power had devolved to the prince of Brazil, Crown Prince, in 1799, who, in virtue of his purchased neutrality, had been able to keep his commercial relations with England unmolested by the French, till the treaty just mentioned, between the latter power and Spain.

6. France was not long in availing herself of the permission she had obtained to march an army through Spain, for the subjugation of Portugal. Having made demands on the Regent of Portugal, with which he could not in honour comply, it was declared that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign; and shortly afterwards, the French army, under General Junot, passed the frontiers. In these extremities, instigated by the English, the royal family determined to embark for America. They set sail on the 21st of November, 1807; and on the 30th, Junot, with his army, entered Lisbon.

7. The state of Spain, at this period, was undoubtedly such as to encourage the most ambitious views of the French Emperor. Nothing could exceed the weakness of the court of Madrid, or the confusion of the national affairs. At the very moment of the partition treaty, the

hereditary Prince Ferdinand, who had refused to marry the minister's sister-in-law, on the suggestion of the court, was arrested, imprisoned, and threatened with a criminal prosecution, for having secretly sought a matrimonial alliance with Bonaparte's family. This was followed by disturbances, and the imprisonment of the obnoxious minister, *Godoy*, Duke of Alcudia, and, since the convention of 1795, generally called the "Prince of Peace." Charles IV., harassed and distressed by these tumults, was induced, on the 19th of March, 1808, to resign his crown in favour of his son, now become Ferdinand VII.; but he soon afterwards revoked his abdication, as forced upon him, and extorted by the dread of personal violence. Nothing could be more directly calculated to promote the views of Bonaparte than these divisions, whose constant policy it was, in all cases of premeditated conquest, to promote dissension, in order to be called in as, an arbitrator or mediator, which was the case in this instance. After Bonaparte had been baffled in his hopes of compelling the King and Queen to emigrate, through the resistance of the people of Spain to such a measure, the whole royal family were invited to repair to Bayonne, to confer on the

state of affairs; an invitation the most insidious, but which had its effect. On the 14th of April Bonaparte arrived there; Ferdinand on the 20th, and on the 1st of May, Charles IV. and his Queen, after the favourite, Godoy, had been released, on their application to Bonaparte.

8. The transactions at Bayonne exceeded almost every thing to be met with in any preceding history. The persons invited were exactly those whom Bonaparte would have been glad to have seen driven into his toils: in this case they were weak enough to go thither of their own accord. Having the two kings completely in his power, and beyond the frontier of Spain, he compelled Charles to resume his authority, on purpose that he might resign it into the hands of the French, proposing, on the terms of an equivalent elsewhere, a similar act of renunciation on the part of Ferdinand; which the latter indignantly refusing, was at once declared to be excluded from all he had, and all he might have had, and even threatened with the loss of liberty. This so intimidated the degraded prince, that at length he unconditionally resigned his royal dignity, first into the hands of his father, and through him, into those of Bonaparte, who soon obtained, though

in a manner the most extraordinary, the consent of most of the principal personages of the state, as well as of the constituted authorities, to the appointment of his brother Joseph, then King of Naples, to the *vacant* Spanish throne, and to render it hereditary in the family of the usurper. In the mean while, Ferdinand was sent to Valancey, and afterwards to Fontainbleau, as a prisoner, and Charles and his Queen to Compeigne: their joint abdication of the Spanish crown was publicly announced at Madrid on the 20th of May, to the great disgust of the Spanish people in general, who soon resolved to be revenged for the horrid indignities they were made to undergo.

9. In the course of the very month in which all the transactions at Bayonne took place, and Joseph Bonaparte entered the capital of Spain as king, the national resentment was manifested by a general rising, and insurrection in all the principal provinces; but it was first in Andalusia that any thing like an organized government was formed for the conduct of the war, on the part of the patriots; there, a provincial *junta*, or council of magistrates, inhabitants, and constituted authorities, was formed at *Seville*, which led to other conventions of the same nature, in

places least molested by the French, and in all of these Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed king, and war openly denounced against the French, accompanied with proclamations and manifestoes, highly creditable to the good sense, spirit, ardor, and patriotism of the Spanish nation, and expressed in terms very different from the language to which the French despot had been accustomed. Joseph Bonaparte entered Spain on the 9th of July, 1808, escorted by four thousand Italian troops, and followed by upwards of one hundred carriages, conveying his suite and the members of the *junta*, assembled at Bayonne, to assist at his inauguration. He was ill-received, or rather, sullenly treated by the inhabitants, on his passage to the capital. Joseph entered Madrid on the 20th of July; at which very time the Spaniards obtained an important victory over a French army marching upon Cadiz, which were compelled to capitulate to the amount of fourteen thousand men, while the French fleet, at Cadiz, was seized by the vigilance and activity of Don Thomas Morla. These successes, on the part of the Spaniards, compelled the new king to retire from the capital to Burgos, after plundering the treasury and securing the crown-jewels.

10. In the mean while, it was soon discovered

that the aid of other powers would be wanted, in order to rescue the kingdom and peninsula from the grasp of Napoleon. Application was accordingly made to the court of London, to the Swedes, and to the Portuguese and Austrians. The former paid a ready and willing attention to the call; and the whole British nation evinced, in an extraordinary manner, the utmost desire to render effectual assistance to Spain, whose cause seemed to be justly interesting to every friend of freedom.

11. While these things were passing in Spain, a similar spirit had arisen in Portugal, against the tyranny and usurpations of the French; and the arrival of a British army, in the month of August, under Sir Arthur Wellesley, (afterwards Duke of Wellington,) gave timely effect to these patriotic movements. The relief of Portugal was sooner accomplished than proved to be the case afterwards with Spain. On the 21st of August a decisive battle took place at Vimiera, between the French and combined armies of English and Portuguese; in which the former were so entirely beaten as to be obliged to evacuate the country; and which they were enabled to do, by a convention concluded at Cintra, under circumstances considered far too

favourable, by Europe in general, and which was resented by the people of England.

12. The evacuation of Portugal, however, at all events, set an army free for the use of Spain, which, at the latter end of the month of October, to the amount of twenty thousand men, entered that country, under the command of Sir John Moore; the Emperor Napoleon having quitted Paris just about the same time, to take the command of the French army there. Unfortunately, the state of Spain at the moment of this first attempt on the part of England, to give aid to the patriots, was such as greatly to embarrass the British commander: he had been taught (or rather, the government at home had been so) to expect a strenuous co-operation on the part of the Spaniards; in which he was exceedingly disappointed, while he continually received advice of the augmentation of the French forces, to an amount far exceeding all his calculations: nor did he consider even his own army so well-appointed as to enable him to contend, in the heart of the kingdom, whither he was directed to proceed, with any fair probability of success. He was evidently dispirited with the prospect before him; and though a perfectly brave officer, felt himself so ill-sup-

ported by the Spaniards, at least, by those who directed the public affairs, (if not even deceived and betrayed,) and so embarrassed by want of money and other supplies, as to be compelled to retire. The retreat of his army, though unhappily disgraced by many irregularities and disorders amongst the soldiery, was conducted, in the face of the enemy, (Bonaparte himself being sometimes present,) with singular courage and dexterity, till they reached Corunna, where, at last, the transports not being arrived, an action with the pursuing army took place, which terminated in favour of the English, though with the loss of the gallant, but unfortunate, commander, whose death was greatly lamented. After this action, on the arrival of the transports, the English troops embarked without molestation, and on the 18th of January, 1809, set sail for England.

13. Before Sir John Moore finally determined upon retiring, he had learned that Bonaparte had recovered possession of the capital, which, after the departure of Joseph, the patriots had endeavoured to fortify and defend; but it was surrendered to the enemy early in the month of December, 1808, by the temporary governor, Don Thomas Morla. Spain was far from being

subdued at the close of the year 1808, though the aspect of things was alarming, and the French extremely confident of success. Joseph re-entered Madrid, in great pomp, in January, 1809. In the mean time, Napoleon had decreed that the Inquisition should be abolished, many monasteries suppressed, and the feudal privileges abrogated.

14. After the affair of Corunna, the French army under General Soult, (Duke of Dalmatia,) invaded Portugal again, and was able to get possession of Oporto; while another army, under General Victor, threatened Lisbon. It was at this moment that fresh troops arrived from England, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, who quickly recovered Oporto, and then turning against Victor, once more relieved Portugal from the presence of the French. In June he entered Spain, and by the 20th of July was in a situation to threaten Madrid; on the 27th and 28th, at Talavera del Reyna, he was attacked by the French under Joseph Bonaparte, assisted by four marshals; but was able, in conjunction with the Spaniards, after a very hard-fought battle, to repel them with great loss. Though this victory was not attended with any immediate ad-

vantages, and would appear to have been rather rashly hazarded, the British General, for his great skill and conduct during the action, was raised to the peerage by the title of Viscount Wellington of Talavera.

15. Though a central junta had been appointed in 1808, to give consistency and strength to the proceedings of the patriots, they were still ill-prepared either to contend against the enemy alone, or conjointly with the British. In the battle of Talavera, and afterwards, their movements had rather embarassed than assisted the operations of the latter. It would have been well if the Spaniards, from the first, could have been prevailed upon to appoint Lord Wellington generalissimo of all the forces acting against the French. The latter, however, were much harassed by a sort of desultory war, carried on by *guerilla* parties, who intercepted their supplies, and, without attempting any regular engagement, (for which, indeed, they were unfit,) were continually attacking them in the way of ambuscade and surprize; for which their superior knowledge of the country evidently gave them great advantages.

16. It is not to be wondered that the extraordinary situation of Spain should occasion great

embarrassment in the management of the war. In the place of the Supreme Central Junta of 1808, a regency had been appointed, and the Cortes assembled, but without sufficient effect. The Spanish armies acted without system, and the nation at large manifested a jealousy of their English allies, which prevented such a co-operation as might have brought the whole under one command, to the evident advantage of the cause, in which they must have been, though with different degrees of zeal and judgment, equally interested. This distrust on the part of the Spaniards exposed them also, it is to be feared, to treatment far from conciliatory on the part of the English. The war which was renewed between France and Austria, in 1809, drew the attention of Napoleon in some degree from Spain: but those differences being soon adjusted, early in the year 1810, powerful reinforcements were sent from France to the Peninsula, to reconquer Portugal, and "drive the English into the sea." What has been said of Spain is by no means applicable to Portugal: in the latter country, not only a better spirit was manifested, but the army being placed under British command, and regularly organized, by General Lord Beresford, was soon

rendered capable of affording very effectual aid and assistance.

17. During the whole of the years 1810 and 1811, the contending armies were occupied in striving to gain advantages over each other, which called forth all the skill and judgment appertaining to the science of war. The detail, however, of the several actions which took place, of the investment and capture of the strong holds of the two portions of the Peninsula, do not belong to such a work as the present. It was not till the summer of 1812, and after the victory gained by Lord Wellington over the French under Marshal Marmont, in the battle of Salamanca, that the total expulsion of the French, and overthrow of the throne of Joseph, became a matter of little doubt. The battle of Salamanca may be said to have opened the gates of Madrid once more to the patriots and allied army, and restored the Spanish crown to Ferdinand. The battle was fought on the 22d of July. On the 30th, Lord Wellington entered Valladolid, the enemy retiring before him; and on the 12th of August, Madrid surrendered to the British arms, Joseph and his suite having previously quitted it. Lord Wellington was received in the capital with the acclamations justly due to the liberator of Spain;

but had the Spaniards themselves used the exertions they might have done, (Napoleon being at this time engaged in Russia,) the Peninsula might probably have been sooner delivered from the French, after the recovery of the capital, than proved to be the case.

18. The latter made a stand at Burgos, which was invested by the English; but after a siege of more than a month, abandoned with considerable loss: the British forces being once more obliged to retire as far as Ciudad Rodrigo, on the frontiers of Portugal. The Spaniards, however, at length appeared to be roused to a proper sense of their situation, and wisely confided to Lord Wellington the termination of this protracted war. In December, 1812, he was appointed generalissimo, and distinguished by extraordinary powers.

19. It seemed now to be practicable to end, by a decisive action, the contest for the possession of Spain; and Lord Wellington lost no time in seeking the opportunity: he took the field in the middle of the month of May, 1813, and on the 21st of June brought the enemy to action on the plains of Vittoria. Never was a victory more decisive than the one obtained at this time by the combined British, Portuguese, and Spanish armies. Joseph and his troops were

compelled to quit the field with such extreme precipitation, as to leave behind them fifty pieces of artillery, two thousand carriages of different description, stores, provisions, and an immense booty, consisting chiefly of the plunder of Madrid, fortunately rescued upon this occasion from the usurper, who was present, and very narrowly escaped.

20. After the battle of Vittoria, and the fall of the strong towns of St. Sebastian and Pampeluna, the British, Portuguese, and Spanish troops crossed the Bidassoa, and entered France. Early in March, the city of Bourdeaux freely opened her gates to General Beresford, in the name of Lewis XVIII., at the same time admitting the King's nephew, the Duke of Angouleme. On the 10th of April, the British stormed the French entrenchments near Thoulouse. On the 12th, General Soult filed out of the town, under the muzzles of the British guns. On the 13th, news arrived of the abdication of Bonaparte, and the entrance of the allied sovereigns into Paris. It is conjectured that the French commander knew of these things before, but, in the hope of gaining some advantage over the invaders of France, concealed it.

21. Before the allies reached Paris, Napoleon had released Ferdinand VII., whose return to

Spain was, however, rendered very unacceptable to many who had espoused his cause in his absence, particularly the members of the regency and existing cortes, with whose proceedings, in regard to the new constitution, proposed for his acceptance, he expressed himself extremely displeased: they had previously refused to acknowledge a treaty concluded by Ferdinand with Bonaparte. He threw himself also into the hands of those who were friends to the ancient system, which, with extreme bigotry, he endeavoured to re-establish in its worst forms. From that time to the present the nation has been kept in a state of considerable ferment and confusion. By a revolution in March, 1820, the cortes were restored, and the free constitution of 1812 proclaimed and sworn to by the King. The Inquisition also was finally abolished: but the effects of these last movements remain to be proved.

22. The old King, Charles IV., died at Rome, in 1819. The battle of Vittoria, which relieved Spain from the presence of the French armies, restored Portugal to her former independence. On the 20th of March, 1816, the Queen, Maria Isabella, died; and was succeeded by the present King, John VI., who had been regent since 1799, the seat of government being still at Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil.

23. We ought not, perhaps, to dismiss this section on Spain and Portugal, without noticing the disposition that has been lately manifested in their trans-Atlantic possessions, to throw off the yoke of the mother-countries, and which bids fair to terminate in their total emancipation and independence.

XVIII.

FRANCE, FROM THE PEACE OF TILSIT, TO THE ABDICATION OF NAPOLEON, 1814.

1. THE treaty of Tilsit left Napoleon at liberty to pursue his career of vengeance and usurpation in other countries. He obtained by it such an influence over Russia, Austria, and Prussia, as to induce them to break with England, without any other reason; and as soon as he had thus disposed of matters in those quarters, he turned his views to the Spanish peninsula, where a Bourbon dynasty still existed. In three months after the signing of the treaty of Tilsit, he concluded the famous partition-treaty with Spain, already spoken of, in virtue of which, French troops were to be allowed to pass into Portugal, for the sacrifice of that ancient kingdom; and afterwards, no doubt, in the views

and designs of the French Emperor, of Spain itself.

2. Of his subsequent invasion and occupation of both countries, and of the war for several years carried on, before he could be compelled to renounce his usurped dominion in Spain, an account is given in the preceding section. On the 17th of December, 1807, in the same spirit of resentment against Great Britain, which had dictated the celebrated decree of *Berlin*, declaring the British isles to be in a state of blockade, the French Emperor issued another decree, at *Milan*, (in consequence of the British retaliatory Orders of Council, November 21st,) by which every ship which should submit to be visited by the English, or consent to any pecuniary exactions whatsoever, should be liable to confiscation as a lawful prize; but his vengeance fell hardest upon Portugal, whose commercial and political relations with England so exasperated him, that, in an audience given to the foreign ministers at Fontainbleau, he openly declared, that if the Regent of Portugal did not within two months conform to the continental system, and totally renounce his connections with England, the house of Braganza should cease to reign. Such was the haughty language of this

extraordinary man, in the face of Europe, after the convention at Tilsit!

3. In a few days after this denunciation of the Portuguese dynasty, the Regent closed his ports against English ships of all descriptions, but not in time to stop the French armies, who pressed so closely upon him, that on the 29th of November (see the preceding section) he was obliged to quit his European dominions for Rio Janeiro, in the Brazils, and on the very next day Lisbon was occupied by French troops under General Junot.

4. The short-lived kingdom of Etruria was brought to an end about this time; and the Queen-Regent, late Duchess of Parma, with the King, her son, obliged to depart for Spain, her native country.

5. In March, 1808, a decree was passed in France, ordaining the renewal of titles of honour, princes, dukes, counts, &c., and creating a new order of hereditary nobility, as essential to an hereditary monarch. About the same time, Joseph Bonaparte was removed from Naples, and made King of Spain, and Joachim Murat, Grand Duke of Berg, married to the sister of Napoleon, was declared King of Naples.

6. The kingdoms of Naples and Italy being thus entirely in the hands of Bonaparte, in order

to prevent their communication from being interrupted by any hostile power, he seized upon the Pope's temporalities, for which Pius VI. ventured to excommunicate him. He had the audacity to remind the Pope, in thus despoiling him, that the kingdom of Christ was not of this world; though the only reason alleged for what he had done, was, that Pius had refused to declare war against England; a friendly power, and one from which the Pope declared he had never received the smallest injury.

7. On the 9th of April, 1809, war was renewed with Austria; and so rapid was the progress of the French, that after three severe actions at Abensberg, Eckmühl, and Ratisbon, Vienna was compelled to capitulate on the 12th of May. The Austrians, afterwards, under the Archduke Charles, gained some advantages over Bonaparte; but, before the autumn was passed, a peace was concluded, at Vienna, extremely humiliating to Francis II. To France he was obliged to cede the Illyrian provinces; to Bavaria, Saltzburg; to Saxony, the whole of West Gallicia; and to Russia, East Gallicia; he was, moreover, compelled to accede to the continental system against England, and to acknowledge Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain.

8. But as if these concessions were not sufficient to mortify the pride of the head of the empire, and representative of the house of Hapsburgh and Lorraine, the French Emperor, to the surprize of Europe, demanded and obtained in marriage the daughter of Francis II., the Archduchess Maria Louisa, having previously been, with great form, divorced from the Empress Josephine, with her own consent, for the express purpose of forming a connection of higher hopes, and affording a prospect of an heir to his newly-acquired imperial dominions. The marriage took place at Paris, April 2. 1810.

9. Intent upon providing for every branch of his family, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany was revived by Napoleon, in 1809, and conferred on his sister *Eliza*, Princess of Lucca and Piombino. The Grand Duchy of Berg, vacated by the removal of his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, to the throne of Naples, was given to Louis, his nephew, son of the King of Holland; and on the 17th of May the Pope's temporalities were declared to be incorporated with the French dominions, and the title of King of Rome appropriated to the Imperial Prince, heir to the French empire. The situation of the Papal territories, between the kingdoms of Italy and

Naples, was such as in hostile hands might be made use of to intercept the communication between the two; and therefore the Pope, who appeared friendly to England, was of necessity to be despoiled of his dominions, but to receive a revenue of two millions of francs. The new constitutional government was to be in full activity and force on the 1st of January, 1810. On the 14th of January, 1810, the electorate of Hanover was annexed to the dominion of the Emperor's brother, Jerome, King of Westphalia; and on the 20th of March, 1811, Napoleon was gratified with the birth of a son, who, according to the arrangements already spoken of, was immediately dignified with the title of King of Rome.

10. In June, 1812, Napoleon, offended with some parts of the conduct of the Emperor of Russia, who had begun to appreciate more justly the character of the artful and ambitious Corsican, once more declared war against him, having influence, besides, to prevail upon Prussia and Austria to join him. His advance towards the Russian dominions was most rapid, but, considering the distance to which he was carrying his army, and the inveterate hatred and indignation he had excited by his bold threats against

his Imperial adversary, his subjects, and his empire, extremely rash. His power, it is true, was immense, 400,000 infantry, 60,000 cavalry, and 1200 pieces of artillery; Germans, Polanders, Dutch, Swiss, Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese, being numbered amongst his troops; but nothing could exceed the anger and resentment of the Russians.

11. On the 9th of May the French ruler left St. Cloud; on the 24th of June he crossed the Niemen, and on the 14th of September attained his grand object of entering the capital of the Muscovite dominions. But his reception was far from being such as he expected, or such as he had met with in other capitals. The city was fired by order of the governor, and by the hands of the enraged inhabitants; and the French had only ruins to occupy, in a latitude to which they were totally unaccustomed, and with all the horrors of a Siberian winter before them.

12. On the 10th of October, after having solicited an armistice, and proposed peace, both of which were peremptorily refused, Bonaparte and his disappointed army began their dreary and perilous march back to France. Nothing could exceed the difficulties and distresses to which they were exposed, from the severities of

the weather and climate, and the attacks of the Russians, from Moscow to the capital of Lithuania, where they arrived on the 10th of December. On the 6th, the Emperor Napoleon totally abandoned his harassed army to its fate, having quitted it at Smorgonie in disguise; destroyed the bridges by which he passed, regardless of those he left behind; and traversing Poland and Germany, made the best of his way to Paris, where he arrived at midnight, December 18., having lost, or rather sacrificed, upwards of 150,000 men, including prisoners, 167,500.

13. It was naturally expected that this total defeat of all his projects in regard to Russia, together with the miserable condition of his army when it reached the confines of France, would have terminated his giddy career of pride and ambition: but in this the world was deceived. In the following year, he eagerly resumed hostilities, but manifestly to great disadvantage. Though he was readily furnished with a fresh army, amounting to 350,000 men, he had soon opposed to him not only Russia, but Austria, Prussia, and Sweden, subsidized by England. Several of the confederates of the Rhine ventured to abandon his cause; and it became very apparent that the allied powers were more in

earnest and more united now than on any former occasion. Many battles were fought in the course of the summer, with doubtful success, till, at last, the great "Battle of Nations," as it has fitly enough been called, took place at Leipzig, in which the French sustained so signal a defeat, as seemed evidently to prognosticate the ruin and discomfiture of the great disturber of Europe. This celebrated battle, or succession of engagements, took place on the 16th, 18th, and 19th days of October. Leipzig was taken only two hours after Bonaparte had effected his escape. The King of Saxony and all his court were captured by the allies; a French garrison of 30,000 men, besides 22,000 sick and wounded, with the French magazines, artillery, and stores. The Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and Crown Prince of Sweden, each at the head of their respective troops, made their entry into the town at different points, after the engagement of the 19th, and met in the great square, amidst the universal acclamations of the people. Just before the battle of Leipzig, the allies derived great advantage from the defection of the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and the Grand Duke of Baden, from the cause of France, and the consequent junction of 55,000 of the

Bavarian troops; and during the action of the 18th, a party of the Saxons, bringing with them 22 guns, deserted to the Crown Prince of Sweden, and desired to be led directly against the French. So much was the aspect of things changed with regard to the destinies of Bonaparte, who, on his return to Paris, had but too much reason to declare, (as he did in his speech to the Senate on the 14th of November,) "All Europe was with us a year ago, — all Europe is now against us."

14. The immediate consequences of the victory at Leipzig were, the dissolution of the new-erected kingdom of Westphalia, and the Grand Duchies of Berg and Frankfort. The Dukes of Brunswick and Hesse Cassel recovered their dominions, and the Prince of Orange was not merely restored to his stadtholderate in Holland, but proclaimed sovereign of the United Netherlands. On the 2d of December, 1813, the allies passed the Rhine; the southern frontier of the Pyrenees having been invaded by the British and Portuguese in October preceding.

15. Though four great armies of the allies were now within the territories of France, their work was not accomplished. The French Generals, and Bonaparte himself, who, in a very

affecting manner, quitted Paris on the 25th of January, 1814, interrupted the progress of the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, and endeavoured to prevent, in every way they could, their advance upon the capital: but all their exertions proved vain, though the attainment of that great object was deferred for some months. It was not till the 31st day of March that their triumph may be said to have been completed: on that day the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, at the head of their respective armies, entered Paris in the most solemn and imposing manner. On the 2d of April, Bonaparte was formally deposed by the senate, and on the 11th he was permitted to abdicate, upon terms judged by many to be far too favourable. He was allowed to retire to Elba, (a residence of his own choice,) retaining his imperial titles, and having that island and its dependencies assigned to him as sovereign, with a revenue of two millions of francs. The Duchies of Parma, Guastalla, and Placentia, were, at the same time, secured to the Empress Maria Louisa, and her descendants, and provision made for all his other relations. Bonaparte, having previously had a guard appointed, set out on the 20th for the seat of his new and very reduced dominions,

much exposed occasionally on his passage to popular resentment.

16. On the entrance of the allies, they were careful in their manifestoes to distinguish between the French people, or nation at large, and the tyrant whom they had conspired to overthrow; and evinced the strongest disposition to bury in oblivion, with becoming magnanimity and forbearance, the numberless insults and injuries they had received at the hands of the French, while under the dominion of their now prostrate foe. They took no steps to force upon them the exiled family, but left the settlement of their government and constitution entirely to the senate and provisional administration. The Bourbons had been proclaimed in the south, and the Count d'Artois appeared at Paris on the 13th of April; but the recall of the King was the work of the French themselves, as we shall have occasion to observe in a subsequent section.

XIX.

POLAND, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO THE TREATY OF VIENNA, 1815.

1. No country in Europe has suffered more from a faulty constitution than the kingdom of Poland. No country has afforded more convincing proofs of the mischiefs appertaining to an elective monarchy, the constant source not only of internal commotions, cabal, and intrigue, but the occasion generally, upon every vacancy, of foreign interference. At no æra did Poland suffer more, perhaps, from this combination of evils than towards the commencement of the eighteenth century; nor has she ever since been able to recover her independence. The arbitrary, though not unprovoked, proceedings of Charles XII. of Sweden, in 1704, when he deposed Augustus, and insisted upon placing Stanislaus on the throne, in despite of Austria and Russia, plainly showed how little power a divided country possesses against the encroachments of an ambitious neighbour, and how

naturally the interference of one such neighbour exposes the invaded country to similar measures on the part of others; for Augustus himself had been previously forced upon the Poles by Russia. From the above period to the present day Poland has been exposed to a continual recurrence of such events; and to promote the views of a combination of foreign potentates, kept in a state of internal disunion and distraction, constantly favourable to their ambitious designs.

2. Augustus Elector of Saxony, who was deposed in 1704, and compelled formally to abdicate the throne by the treaty of Alt-Ranstädt, in 1706, was restored by the assistance of Russia, after the battle of Pultawa in 1709, and reigned for the space of twenty-four years, dying in 1733. (Sect. I.) His reign was far from being a happy one: he offended the Poles by the introduction of Saxon troops, and by residing too much away from them in his electoral dominions: he lived in the midst of factions and conspiracies, being continually at war with the *Dissidents* or *Anti-Catholics*, while he totally failed in his endeavours to render himself absolute, or the crown hereditary in his family.

3. The war which arose upon the death of

Augustus, has been already noticed. Had the Poles been wise enough to remedy that great defect in their constitution, which rendered the crown elective, they could not have done better, perhaps, than to have made it hereditary in the person and family of Stanislaus Lescinsky, the principal competitor of the house of Saxony, he being a Pole by birth, and very amiable in his private character: but they were no longer their own masters; and they were divided amongst themselves to such a degree as to render the interposition of some foreign power almost necessary to determine their choice. Upon this occasion the Emperor of Germany, whose niece the young Elector of Saxony had married, being assisted by the Russians, overcame the French influence which had been exerted in favour of Stanislaus, and, by effectually removing the latter, procured the election to fall on the son of the late king, Augustus III.

4. This king of Poland, on the death of the Emperor Charles VI., 1740, laid claim to the whole Austrian succession; and not altogether without reason, had not the Pragmatic Sanction stood in his way, his wife being the eldest daughter of the Emperor Joseph, elder brother of Charles VI.; the object of the Pragmatic

Sanction being to secure the inheritance to the females, in default of male issue; and on the demise of Charles VI., his *daughter* becoming his immediate heir and representative, it certainly appeared hard that the daughter of the elder brother, who had been emperor, should be so entirely excluded. The hope of succeeding to some part, at least, of the late emperor's hereditary dominions, induced the King of Poland to enter into a confederacy with Bavaria, Prussia, and France, against the house of Austria; but he derived no advantage from the alliance: he afterwards changed sides, and at the commencement of the Seven Years' War, as has been before shown, (Sect. VI.) suffered most severely for having espoused the cause of the Empress Queen, and entertained views against Prussia, which the wary sovereign of the latter country found means to detect, and cruelly to revenge.

5. It was not likely that a king who owed his election so entirely to the interference of foreign powers, should acquire any thing like independence, or authority at home or abroad. During the reign of Augustus III. great feuds and animosities prevailed among the Magnats, while the King himself was entirely subject to

the influence of Russia; a circumstance so resented by his subjects, as to induce them to avail themselves of the privilege of the *Liberum Veto*, to dissolve all the diets he convoked, and thus leave the kingdom almost without any government. Augustus III. died in the year 1763, at a period when the Russian sceptre had passed into hands well fitted to promote, in every way possible (just or unjust), its aggrandizement and splendour. Catherine II. is supposed to have had her eyes upon Poland before the demise of Augustus, and to have been prepared not only to set aside the son of the latter, but to advance to the vacant throne some creature of her own: she paid no attention, therefore, to the solicitations of the house of Saxony, and was very shortly relieved, indeed, from all competition in that quarter by the early death of the new elector. In conjunction with Prussia she succeeded, but not without a spirited opposition on the part of a few Polish patriots, in bestowing the crown of Poland on count Poniatowski, one of her favourites, and a Pole by birth; a man of talent, and amiable in his disposition, but likely to continue, as well as his predecessor, entirely under her control.

6. Nothing could be a greater mockery than the

care which the Czarina and the King of Prussia pretended to take of the liberties of Poland, at the very moment that they were forcing upon the nation a king of their own choice and nomination. So far from trying to amend her faulty constitution, and eradicate the seeds of future animosities, they particularly entered into an agreement to prevent any king rendering the crown hereditary in his family, or becoming absolute; that is, in fact, *independent*, or powerful; for this was their great object. And when it was to be submitted to the Diet to approve their nominee, and declare Count Poniatowski king, a Russian army was sent to Warsaw, to support the *freedom* of the election. The *choice* of the Diet of course was soon decided to be in favour of the Russian favourite, who became king accordingly, September 7. 1764, under the name and title of Stanislaus Augustus.

7. From this period, the three neighbouring powers, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the two former, however, most particularly, may be said to have been interested in the internal dissensions of that unhappy kingdom, which afforded them plausible grounds of interference, and which they could, therefore, have no sincere inclination to allay or adjust till they had effectually gained their own ends: the object of

Russia probably was to maintain her own power and ascendancy over the whole country; but Prussia meditated a partition, which might put her in possession of Polish or Western Prussia, a district of much importance in every point of view.

8. Whatever may have been originally the distinct views of the several parties, it is very certain that they derived peculiar advantages from the extremely unsettled state of the country, which was at this time torn to pieces by the contests and disputes between the Catholics and *Dissidents*, or dissenters from the established religion: the latter, who since the middle of the sixteenth century had acquired many privileges, were supported by several different foreign powers; those of the Greek church by Russia, and the Protestants of all persuasions by Prussia, Denmark, and Great Britain, all of whom were called upon to interpose as guarantees of the famous treaty of Oliva, 1660. The Diet, instigated by the court of Rome and heads of the church, judged it right to uphold the established faith, and Stanislaus, though his principles were more tolerant and liberal, appeared to take the same side, being jealous also of the too great power of Russia, of which he could not fail to be continually reminded, not only by the

open favour shown to the *Dissidents* by Catherine, but by the insolent superiority assumed by her General, commanding in Poland, Prince Repnin, and the extremely arbitrary and sanguinary manner in which the Empress sought to maintain her preponderance.

9. In the mean while confederacies were forming in all parts of the kingdom to restore, if possible, the independence of their country, (such at least, was the object of the Catholics,) or to procure for the Protestants all the rights and privileges to which they laid claim, and of some of which they had been unjustly deprived. The latter, under Prince Radzivil, supported by Russian troops, compelled the Diet of Warsaw, in the year 1767, to accede to their demands; this hastened the grand confederacy of the Catholics at Bar, in Podolia, in 1768, whose object was to throw off the Russian yoke, with the aid of Turkey, who had been induced by France to declare war against the Russians in that very year, upon the occasion of the latter having passed their frontier in pursuing a Polish party, and committed considerable depredations.

10. Though the confederate Catholics had clearly the good of their country in view, yet such was the influence of Russia, that the King

and senate were compelled by Catherine to declare war against the Porte, and so far to counteract, as much as possible, the efforts that were making to accomplish their own independence. In Austria, indeed, during this stage of the business, the confederates at Bar had a friend in Maria Theresa, who espoused the claims of the Saxon family, and who sent them both arms and money, to enable them to check, if possible, the domineering proceedings of the Czarina, of which indeed she had good cause to be jealous. But the time was approaching in which, notwithstanding the most striking and formal declarations to the contrary, Poland was to become a prey to her three more powerful neighbours, and when all other feelings were to give way to that of duly apportioning and dividing the spoils of that unhappy country.

11. It seems now to be pretty generally agreed, that the plan of dismembering this unfortunate kingdom originated with the King of Prussia, or his brother Prince Henry; and that it was owing to particular circumstances that they were able to bring the two other parties so readily to acquiesce in their measures of partition. Had Frederic himself been more rapacious, it would probably not have been so easily accomplished;

but in order to gain what he most coveted, for his own share, he appeared willing to allow the other two partitioning powers to acquire rather more than fell to his lot, both in extent of territory and amount of population. In admitting Austria to any share at all, he made no scruple to assert that his principal motive was, that she should bear her part in the blame that must attach to so arbitrary and rapacious an act.

12. Though the Polish King and nation were compelled to acquiesce in these proceedings of the three powers, they did not do so without remonstrating in terms the most striking and dignified; accompanying their remonstrances and manifestoes with an open appeal to the several states which had guarantied the integrity of Poland; but all in vain. They obtained no assistance from foreign states, no abatement of their demands on the part of the partitioning powers, and were at length obliged, by a solemn decree of the Diet, to sanction this gross dismemberment of their country. In two several discussions of the case, however, in the Senate, and assembly of Nuncios, the minority on the division was most numerous and respectable. In the former, the question was carried by a majority of *six* only, in the latter by *one*. The motive alleged by the partitioning powers, for

this extraordinary proceeding was, that they were anxious to amend the constitution, to preserve the liberties of Poland, and to appease the disorders which had for so long a space of time disturbed the country, but they fulfilled none of these pretended purposes. They did nothing to amend the constitution, but imposed a new one upon them, fraught with those very imperfections, of which they might for ever continue to take advantage. They perpetuated the elective monarchy, abridged more than ever the authority of the King, and continued the *liberum veto*, a sort of tribunitial privilege, exceedingly inimical to the peace of the country. So far from upholding, they trampled upon their liberties in every way they could, and promoted the disorders they pretended to remove, by encouraging, rather than checking, the licentious conduct of their soldiery. In fact, a greater act of atrocity, or a more barefaced mockery of national feelings, never perhaps took place, or was even attempted, than in the dismemberment of the kingdom of Poland. Austria and Prussia did, indeed, make an attempt to vindicate their claims to the countries they took possession of; but Russia scarcely judged it necessary to make any declaration to that effect. The archives of

Prussia and Hungary were ransacked, and titles revived and insisted upon, which, to say the least, had been in abeyance for many centuries. How far this measure may justly be said to have affected the balance of power in Europe, is a distinct case. For a long series of years, if not of ages, Poland had been so ill governed, or so weak, as to have had little influence on that balance, though her situation seemed to point her out, and still appears to do so, as capable of materially influencing or counteracting the operations of her many powerful and ambitious neighbours, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Turkey. The worst consequence, however, arising from the confederacy against Poland, seems to have been the countenance thereby given to the partitioning system in general.

13. It was in the year 1773 that the division was finally agreed to, and settled, and even sanctioned by the Polish diet. Of somewhat more than *thirteen thousand* square German leagues of territory, the partitioning powers took a good third, taking at the same time no measures to lessen the evils arising from the defective constitution of Poland, in the portion allotted to the natives. It must be acknowledged, that they bestowed great pains on the improvement of their respective shares; but no benefits

of this nature, conferred on particular parts of the country, could compensate for the unfeeling depredations committed upon the whole.

14. The following has been given as a fair representation of the parts allotted to the several powers, by the delegates appointed to adjust the respective claims. Other accounts, indeed, are extant, which it would be difficult to attempt to reconcile with the one we are about to give; a very exact statement, however, may not be necessary. The Russian allotment consisted of Polish Livonia, parts of the palatinates of Witepsk, Polotsk, and Minsk, and the whole palatinate of Micislaw, containing a population of 1,500,000 souls. The King of Prussia obtained the district called Royal, or Western Prussia, excepting the towns of Dantzic and Thorn, with a population of 860,000 souls. Austria gained a large territory in the south of Poland, comprising Red Russia, Gallicia, and parts of the palatinates of Cracow, Sandomir, Lublin, Bezk, Volhynia, and Podolia, containing a population of 2,500,000 souls, and the valuable salt-works of Vielitzka, which produced an annual revenue of 90,000*l.* This district was annexed to the Austrian territories, under the ancient appellation of the kingdoms

of Gallicia and Lodomeria. Such were the results of what is now distinguished by the name of the FIRST partition of Poland.

15. The little assistance Poland received to ward off the disgrace and misery of this first partition, the extraordinary apathy with which it seemed to be beheld by the other powers of Europe, left little hopes of her regeneration, or escape from the toils into which she had fallen; nor indeed has she ever escaped from them, or recovered the smallest degree of independence. After the first partition, the object she had most to dread was some accidental disunion of the partitioning powers, who would be sure to wreak their vengeance upon her; and an event of this very nature seems to have been the cause of what has been called the SECOND partition, in 1793. Russia and Austria, in the years 1787 and 1788, by too close an alliance, having given umbrage to the King of Prussia, he insisted that the constitution formed for Poland, in 1773, was void, and offered to assist the Poles in framing a new one, which was completed under his auspices, May 3. 1791. Had this constitution been able to keep its ground, Poland, so much of it at least as remained to the natives, might have recovered some degree of credit and freedom: it was in a great measure the work

of real patriots, enlightened and moderate reformers; it abolished the *liberum veto*, and the elective monarchy, except in the case of the extinction of some hereditary dynasty; it rendered the person of the King inviolable, but gave him responsible ministers; it provided a representative senate, not much differing from the English House of Commons. Unhappily, this good work found enemies amongst the ancient nobles, who did not like to give up their pretensions to royalty, and who had recourse to the old and ruinous expedient of inviting foreign help, always at hand to avail itself of the internal commotions of that devoted country. Russia was called in, by the confederates of Targovitz, and a renewal of losses and calamities ensued of course. The King of Prussia, so far from supporting the new constitution, the Diet, or the King, as he seemed absolutely bound to do, by his own acts, eagerly seized upon the towns of Dantzic and Thorn, which had been especially excepted in the last partition, joined the Czarina, in her efforts against the patriots, under the brave Kosciusko, and finally succeeded in prevailing over a country, which, from the enthusiasm and spirit displayed on this occasion in her defence, deserved a better fate. By the

second partition, in 1793, Russia is said to have acquired 4000 German square miles of territory, in Volhinia, Lithuania, Podolia, and the Ukraine; and Prussia, besides the towns of Dantzic and Thorn, 1000 square miles in south Prussia, with all the Hanseatic towns. A *third* and last partition soon followed, in the year 1795, between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, which may be said to have put an end to the kingdom and republic of Poland; Stanislaus, its unhappy monarch, being removed to Russia, where he soon after died, February 12. 1798. In this last partition, Cracow was given to Austria, and Warsaw to Prussia. From the resistance of the natives, who gained greater advantages in many engagements than could have been expected from the nature of their force, the slaughter accompanying these latter revolutions was dreadful, and on the part of the Russians attended with circumstances of cruelty too much resembling what had taken place in 1772.

16. It would be difficult to describe the state of Poland, from the period of the *last partition*, in 1795, to the treaty of Vienna, in 1815. The injuries the natives had experienced at the hands of the three partitioning powers very naturally disposed them to accept any offers from the enemies of their oppressors; and, as Bonaparte

had frequent opportunities of making such offers, it is not to be wondered that he should have obtained their assistance, and subjected them, more or less, to his government and control; but as he was only at times in opposition to, and as often allied with one or other of the three powers, Russia, Austria, or Prussia, he was never able to propose their entire emancipation, even if he had desired it; for which he has undoubtedly had credit given him. Thus continually deceived and mortified, they derived no advantage from the aid they gave to France, if we except that tendency towards the recovery of a separate existence, (for it can scarcely be called more,) the creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, in 1807, which, by the treaty of Tilsit, and with the consent of Bonaparte, was consigned to the King of Saxony; the Emperor of Russia at the same time acquiring much of Poland from Prussia. In 1812, the kingdom was declared by the Diet of Warsaw to be re-established; and by the treaty of Vienna, in 1815, being formally delivered up by the King of Saxony, it became annexed to Russia, and was declared to be, "irrecoverably attached to it by its constitution, to be possessed by His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, his heirs and successors in perpetuity." The part

assigned to Prussia took the name of the Grand Duchy of Posen. The salt-mines of Vielitzka were confirmed to the Emperor of Austria, and such districts as had been acquired by the treaty of Vienna, in 1809. The town of Cracow was declared to be for ever a free, independent, and strictly neutral city, under the protection of Austria, Russia, and Prussia. The navigation of the rivers and canals, in all parts of ancient Poland, (as it existed in the year 1772,) was by particular treaties, between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, declared to be free, so as not to be interdicted to any inhabitant of the Polish provinces, belonging to either of the three powers.

XX.

GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE PEACE OF AMIENS, 1802, TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE III., 1820.

1. BEFORE one year had passed from the conclusion of the peace of Amiens, circumstances took place which too plainly indicated a strong probability of the renewal of hostilities; and so early as the month of May, 1803, letters of marque and reprizal were again issued against the French, by the British government, ap-

parently with the full consent of the people at large, notwithstanding the enthusiastic joy which had been expressed on the termination of the war in the year preceding. It was upon this occasion that the First Consul had recourse to a measure, singular in its nature, and which exposed many persons and families to great inconvenience. He forcibly detained all the English who happened to be in France, not only for purposes of business, but of pleasure or curiosity; nor, with very few exceptions, were any of them able to return to their native country, for the long space of ten or eleven years. Preparations also were made for the invasion of England, which only excited a stronger disposition, on the part of the latter country, to prepare against such attempts, in a way well calculated to destroy at once all the enemy's hopes and prospects of success; in Ireland, indeed, a new conspiracy was set on foot, which was supposed to rest on some promised support from France; but this was denied by the conspirators themselves, and the disturbance soon quelled, without spreading, in fact, beyond the capital.

2. Though the King of Great Britain had declared, that, with regard to his electoral states, he should remain neuter, Bonaparte did not neglect such an opportunity of wounding his

feelings, by the speedy occupation of Hanover, under circumstances peculiarly aggravating to the people. Early in the month of June, 1803, the Hanoverian troops were made to lay down their arms, and engage not to serve against the French without a previous exchange.

3. Holland was still too much under subjection to France, to be permitted to remain at peace; letters of marque were, therefore, also issued against the Batavian republic, on its refusal to agree to a perfect neutrality.

4. In 1804, a change of ministry in England brought Mr. Pitt again into power, at a moment when the affairs of the continent, and the increased power of the First Consul, who, in the course of the same month, assumed the Imperial dignity, demanded all his attention. Before the conclusion of the year, the aid which Spain was compelled to render to the French, together with certain appearances of hostile preparations in her ports, exposed her to an attack on the part of Great Britain, which soon drew from her a declaration of war, very fatal to her interests, though scarcely to be avoided, considering the circumstances in which she had been placed by the extraordinary proceedings and demands of the British government, which

was supposed to have violated the strict rules of justice, if not of international law, by arbitrarily and prematurely seizing her *treasure-ships*, on their passage to her ports, in an action perfectly unforeseen and unexpected, and in which many lives were lost.

5. But if the character of the British nation or government suffered in any respect from error or mistakes in the commencement of the war, its naval power and credit were highly advanced before a year had passed, by the splendid victory obtained over the Spanish and French fleets combined, off Cape Trafalgar, in October, 1805; a victory not achieved, however, without a correspondent loss, as has been before stated, in the death of the very celebrated Lord Nelson, commander of the British squadron, who fell early in the action, and whose body, being afterwards brought to England, was buried with very unusual honours in the centre of St. Paul's cathedral.

6. In 1806 died Mr. Pitt; a minister whose extraordinary talents and integrity of life attached to him many friends and adherents, by whom he was ably supported through a very arduous contest; a contest which, though some thought it might have been avoided, others as confidently

regarded as entirely just and necessary, and a timely security against the propagation of revolutionary principles, more threatening and dangerous than any aggressions purely hostile. It is always easy to say, such and such events would not have happened, had a different course from the one actually adopted been pursued; but this is at best mere matter of surmise. It is impossible now to speak decisively of what might or might not have been the consequences of a longer forbearance from war; it is extremely certain that many untoward circumstances prevented the accomplishment of all that Mr. Pitt had in view, and that the power of the French Emperor, instead of being checked, was advancing with rapid strides to a pitch of uncontrollable and extended dominion, when the former was seized with that illness which terminated his life, in the forty-seventh year of his age. On his death, a new administration was formed, including his great parliamentary opponent, Mr. Fox, who survived him for the short space of only seven months. It is highly creditable to the character of the British nation to record, that these two eminent statesmen, who had been for a long time so much opposed to each other, but whose abilities and sincerity in an oppo-

site line of politics appear to have been duly acknowledged and appreciated by all parties at the period of their death, were buried at the public expence in Westminster Abbey, so near to each other, that one stone might have covered the remains of both.

7. During the short time that Mr. Fox was a member of administration, fresh attempts were made to terminate the war, by negotiation, but in vain. Though the French Emperor would have agreed to many cessions of importance both to Great Britain and her ally, the Emperor of Russia, it was found impossible to detach from his influence and usurped authority some of the most important parts of Europe, particularly Holland, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany.

8. The system so generally adopted by the tyrant of France, of converting to his own use the resources of all other countries, which could in any manner be rendered subservient to his purpose, led the administration which succeeded that in which Mr. Fox had a share, to set on foot an expedition, which has been judged by many incapable of justification on any principles of political expediency, and which was unfortunately attended with more fatal consequences

than were at first perhaps contemplated. Upon what information the ministry proceeded did not fully appear at the time, but it was alleged that they had reason to know that the French ruler designed to occupy Holstein, and convert to the purposes of an invasion of the British dominions the Danish marine.

9. It was determined, in order to prevent such an accession to the naval power of France, to obtain possession of the fleet on which the enemy had thus fixed his view, and though it might perhaps have been both hoped and expected by the British government, that the Danes would be brought peaceably to surrender into their hands for a time a fleet thus devoted to the ruin of a friendly power, yet the result turned out to be far otherwise. The Danes resisted the demand, and though quite unable effectually to defend against the forces opposed to them either their fleet or their capital, did not capitulate till about two thousand persons had lost their lives, and many houses been burnt, in a manner that threatened the entire destruction of the city. The end, it was true, was accomplished, of getting into the power of the English all the Danish ships of war, (eighteen ships of the line and fifteen frigates,) and naval

stores; but it is to be feared that it will be long before the irritation caused by this sudden and unexpected attack on a brave people, not at war with England, will be allayed or forgotten.

10. In vindication of the suspicions of the British ministry, it was asserted that the Danish marine and arsenals were found in a state which left no doubt of the intrigues and agency of the French, according to the judgment of the officers and seamen employed in the expedition. The general designs of France seem, indeed, to have been decisively manifested, in the measures they now openly pursued, about the same time of appropriating to themselves the fleet of Portugal, and for similar purposes, but which, fortunately, without so melancholy a catastrophe, was rescued from the grasp of the French ruler, by its timely removal, under the protection of a British armanent, to the ports of Brazil. The difference between the two cases seemed to be this; that in getting possession of the latter fleet we were actually assisting an ally; in the former we were compelling a neutral to adopt a measure judged to be unnecessary on her part, and on suspicions, the grounds of which she disavowed; but the state of Europe, at that period, appears to have been such, especially with regard to the

minor states, as to justify precautions against French power and French intrigue, seldom, if ever, resorted to in other instances: it may also be added, that Portugal unreservedly communicated to England the avowed designs of France; Denmark, to say the least, acted with a reserve far from friendly, and resisted all negotiation; the consequences to the latter, however, were certainly deplorable.

11. It was in the year 1807, that the royal family of France, whose situation on the Continent became every day more alarming and insecure, took refuge in England; they fixed their residence at Hartwell, in Buckinghamshire, His Majesty styling himself the Count de Lisle, and modestly declining all honours and attentions, beyond such as might be due to a private nobleman.

12. The vindictive measures adopted by the French government, to ruin the trade and commerce of Great Britain, naturally drew from the latter retaliatory expedients, which were more or less approved, as affecting neutral and friendly powers, but which could scarcely have been avoided, without surrendering our maritime rights, and basely submitting to a pretence of blockade on the part of a power, whose

ships had been fairly driven from the sea by the British fleets. *Orders in council* were issued in the months of January and November, 1807, not only prohibiting all trade between the ports of France and its allies, but ultimately compelling all neutrals, trading to France, to stop at a British port, and pay a duty in proportion to the value of the cargo. These embarrassments to trade in general, could not fail to excite great uneasiness in all parts of the world; but the commencement of them is justly to be imputed to the extraordinary decree, issued by the French ruler at Berlin, (the basis of the "Continental system,") November, 1806, an account of which is given in Sect. XVI.: unfortunately the impossibility of satisfactorily exempting other states from the effect of these prohibitory and regulating decrees on the part of the two rival countries, involved England in a very unpleasant dispute with the united states of America.

13. Of the part England took in the affairs of Spain and Portugal, from 1808 to 1814, an account is to be found elsewhere. (See Sect. XVII.) It may be sufficient to say, that, during the whole contest, the emancipation of those two ancient kingdoms from the power of the French seemed to be contemplated by the whole mass of British

subjects as their own cause. The people of Great Britain and Ireland, on the first application for assistance from Spain, appeared ready to rise in a body. They hailed the dawn of liberty on the continent with the most enthusiastic feelings. The deputies from the supreme junta of Seville did not arrive in England on their mission to the British Government till the 24th of July, 1808; but long before that, other deputies from the principality of Asturias had been received in London, with the most cordial tokens of esteem and friendship. They were splendidly entertained by the City of London, the Bank, and other public bodies, as well as by individuals of the highest distinction. Subscriptions were opened in London, Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and many other places, for supporting the cause of Spain; and several military corps, militia and volunteers, offered their services. Government supplied them immediately with three hundred thousand pounds in dollars, five thousand muskets, thirty thousand pikes, and an immense quantity of powder and balls, with promises of more effectual aid, which were ultimately amply fulfilled. The spirit thus displayed by the British public, on the first cer-

tain intelligence received, of the antigallican insurrection in Spain, may be said to have continued unabated till, through the matchless skill and valour of the confederate armies under the Duke of Wellington, the French were finally driven from the Peninsula in 1814, as related in our account of Spain.

14. His Majesty George III., having, in the month of October, 1809, entered upon the 50th year of his reign, the event was celebrated throughout the nation in a very striking manner, by services of thanksgiving in all the churches and chapels, with suitable discourses, illuminations, feasts, and other testimonies of joy, but particularly by liberal benefactions to the poor. In the month of November in the following year, His Majesty, much troubled and afflicted by the long illness and death of his daughter the Princess Amelia, had an alarming return of his former complaint, which terminated in a second suspension of his regal functions, and from which he never so sufficiently recovered as to be able to transact any business of state. On the 20th of December, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was appointed Regent, subject for a period to restrictions similar to those which had been proposed in

1788--9. This plan was violently opposed, as unconstitutional and impolitic, but finally carried in February 1811. The bill was completed and presented to His Royal Highness, who did not hesitate to accept the trust, though not without remonstrating against the limitations and restrictions imposed on him. Early in 1812, however, these restrictions were to cease. Great changes in administration had been contemplated, and many negotiations were carried on to this effect, but without accomplishing that union and coalition of parties, which the Regent himself seemed to desire. Not being disposed to withhold his confidence therefore from those who had so long served his royal father, most of them, on the termination of the restrictions, were continued in their places. A most melancholy catastrophe, which occurred in the month of May, 1812, deprived the nation of the services of Mr. Percival, who was assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons, by a person of the name of Bellingham, in revenge, as he himself stated, of a private injury; a denial of justice, as he called it, on the part of government. It seemed to be accidental that the premier happened to be the individual first presented to his notice on that fatal day.

15. During the years 1812 and 1813, the differences between the English and American governments bore a very serious aspect, and involved the two countries in a contest, which, for the time it lasted, was carried on with peculiar animosity. The conduct of America betrayed not only a bias towards France, in regard to the restrictions imposed on commerce by the belligerents, but a captious disposition to vex and provoke England, in detaching from her service, and giving protection to her seamen and soldiers, by acts of naturalization and certificates of citizenship, contrary to every principle of honour and good faith. Unfortunately, upon the commencement of hostilities, it was found, that the ships the Americans fitted out, though nominally of the class of frigates, had been adapted to carry a complement of men and guns which rendered them, generally speaking, an over-match for the frigates in the British navy. To compensate, however, for some disappointments that took place in consequence of this, early in the war, a very singular action, off the port of Boston, in May, 1813, had the effect of establishing the credit of the British navy, in the very face of the enemy, and in a manner which, while it displayed to the utmost the

bravery of both nations, left the British flag flying triumphantly over that of the Americans. The engagement was the result of a regular challenge: Captain Broke, of the Shannon, cruising off the port of Boston, in which lay the Chesapeake, American frigate, a fine ship of forty-nine guns, eighteen and thirty-two pounders, with a complement of 440 men, stood so close into shore, as manifestly to invite the Americans to commence an attack upon him: the challenge being accepted, the Chesapeake came out with her colours flying, full of confidence, and after a few broadsides, the two ships became locked together; the action now became desperate; the English, headed by Captain Broke, boarded the American ship, and a dreadful conflict for a short time ensued, but the issue was entirely in favour of the English; in about fifteen minutes from the commencement of the action, the American colours were hauled down, and Captain Broke obtained complete possession of the Chesapeake, in the sight of numerous spectators on the shore, who had the mortification to see the ship in which they had so much prided themselves, and of whose success they had but a few minutes before felt certain, actually carried away captive

before their faces. The annals of the British navy scarcely supply an instance of a victory more decisively triumphant and glorious. The Shannon had but 330 men, of whom 23 were killed and 56 wounded. The enemy had 70 killed and 100 wounded. The ships escaped without damage. The conduct of Captain Broke, however, being complained of by the Americans, as contrary to the strict rules of war, he underwent a censure from government.

16. It would be very uninteresting to enter into any accounts of the course of the war on the continent of America during this period of the contest. An attempt on the part of the Americans, to get possession of Canada, was frustrated by the bravery of the regular army, aided by the people of the country. In the following year, 1814, the war became more serious; *Washington*, the American capital, fell into the hands of the English, under General Ross and Sir George Cockburn, and all the public buildings were destroyed. Happily, before the year was concluded, a peace was negotiated at Ghent, and amity restored; but without settling some of the most important points in dispute between the two countries.

17. The year 1814, will ever be memorable

in the English history, for the very extraordinary influx of foreigners, of the highest distinction, from the opposite shore, on the downfall of Bonaparte, and the conclusion of a war, which had agitated the whole of Europe. The list of visitors invited to the grand civic feast, given by the Corporation of London, and all of whom were present, but a very few whom illness kept away, may convey some idea of the splendid scenes that took place in different parts of the kingdom in honour of these illustrious guests. It was on the 18th of June, that the dinner was given to the following very exalted personages:

The PRINCE REGENT;
The EMPEROR of RUSSIA;
His Sister, the GRAND DUCHESS of Oldenburgh, (afterwards QUEEN of WIRTENBURG);
The KING of PRUSSIA;
The Royal Dukes of England;
The PRINCE ROYAL of Prussia;
Prince *William* of Prussia, son of the King;
Prince *Frederick*, nephew of the King;
Prince *Henry*, brother of the King;
Prince *William*, brother of the King;
Prince *Augustus*, the King's cousin;
The PRINCE of ORANGE;
The PRINCE ROYAL of Wirtenburg;
The PRINCE ROYAL of Bavaria;
The PRINCE of Oldenburgh;
The PRINCE of Cobourg;
PRINCE Charles of Mecklenburgh;
DUKE of Saxe Weimar;
Prince Gagarina;

Prince Czeretorinké;
Prince Radzivil;
Marshal Prince Blucher;
Prince Hardenburg;
Prince Metternich;
Prince Lichtenstein;
Prince and Princess Volkouské;
His Highness the Duke of Orleans.

These illustrious foreigners were entertained, at great cost and expense, during their stay, both by the Court and public bodies: the Prince Regent accompanied them on a visit to the University of Oxford; and to Portsmouth, where they had an opportunity of witnessing a naval review.

18. In May, 1816, the heiress to the British crown, Princess Charlotte, only child of the Regent, was married to His Serene Highness Leopold George Frederic, Prince of Cobourg. This marriage was contemplated by the nation as an object of the highest hopes; and for several months the amiable and exemplary conduct of Her Royal Highness, cheered the people with the brightest prospects of future good; but a very sudden and unexpected disappointment took place in the month of November, 1817; the Princess was delivered of a still-born male infant, and survived her delivery only a few hours. Nothing could exceed the concern ma-

nifested by the public on this melancholy and distressing occasion.

In the month of November, in the following year, Her Majesty Queen Charlotte died at Kew, after a long and painful illness; and on the 29th of January, 1820, was followed by her royal consort King George III.: His Majesty died at the Castle of Windsor, at a very advanced age, and in the sixtieth year of his reign; greatly beloved by his subjects, and universally respected for his many amiable and royal virtues.

XXI.

FRANCE, FROM THE ENTRANCE OF THE ALLIES INTO PARIS, MARCH, 1814, TO THE FINAL EVACUATION OF IT BY THE FOREIGN TROOPS, 1818.

1. Soon after Bonaparte departed for Elba, Louis XVIII. was freely *recalled* to the throne of his ancestors; he had been resident in many places since his first emigration, and been driven from almost all, by the approach of republican troops, the dread of republican vengeance in those who afforded him a refuge, and not unseldom the fear of poison or assassination. Eng-

land, at length, afforded him the asylum he sought in vain elsewhere: there he lived secure against French armies, French influence, and, as far as Englishmen could protect him, the poisonous drug, or the sword of the assassin. When the way was opened for him to return to his native country, and receive the crown and the throne, which his people now *offered* him, but which had been so insulted and abused, it was characteristic of Englishmen to rejoice at his restoration, and at the great change prepared for him, from a state of banishment, outlawry, and dependence, to the recovery of one of the most brilliant thrones of Europe, and from which his unhappy brother had fallen, in a way, to excite the sympathy of every feeling and generous mind: his departure from England to France was accompanied with the acclamations and sincere gratulations of all ranks of people: the Prince Regent personally escorted him not only to London, but from London to Dover, and took leave of him, in sight of the French coast, in a manner the most affecting and impressive. White flags were exhibited on almost all the churches, near which he had to pass, and nothing could exceed the joy expressed upon the overthrow of Bonaparte, and the restor-

ation of the Bourbons, both in England and France.

2. In the latter country, however, it may be naturally supposed, the joy could not be general, nor much of what was expressed outwardly sincere: Louis XVIII. returned to France, not as it was when he left it, but revolutionized; it had undergone great changes, and a large proportion of the population was deeply interested in those changes; yet many who returned with him, were quite as deeply interested, in absolutely reversing what had passed, restoring what had been abolished, reclaiming what had been alienated, if not even punishing and degrading those who had participated in or been benefited by such revolutions.

3. In the mean while the exiled Emperor was not quiet; he was too near to the French coast, to be kept in ignorance of what was passing, and of the sentiments entertained towards him, by those who had participated in his many glorious and triumphant achievements, and who could ill brook the degradation to which they might be doomed by the restoration of the Bourbons; the army in particular, to whom, indeed, he had behaved not only ill, but cruelly, in his retreat from Russia and Leipzig, had yet

been raised by him to such a pitch of glory and pre-eminence, as might reasonably account for its feeling both disgust and resentment, at having been compelled to submit to the intrusion of strangers into their country and metropolis; strangers, whom they had previously been able not only to defy and resist, but in some instances, to triumph over in their own capitals.

4. The situation of the King of France, therefore, on his return to his dominions, however acceptable to the greater part of Europe, could scarcely be such as he might himself wish or desire: it was impossible for him to return to the ancient state of things; and he must have foreseen how difficult it would be to render any new constitution agreeable or suitable to all parties. The Senate, indeed, had prepared a new constitution before his arrival; one which bore a considerable analogy to that of England; the legislative power being placed in the hands of the King, the Senate, and the representatives of the nation at large; and the amount, nature, and distribution of the public taxes, left exclusively to the decision of the latter: the deputies were to exercise their functions for the space of five years; the dignity of senator to be hereditary, and to be conferred by the King, though with

a limitation as to numbers, which were not to exceed 200; religious freedom, and the liberty of the press, were duly provided for: this constitution was to be presented to him, to be accepted previously to his inauguration; but on his arrival at Paris, he did not choose to bind himself, further than to promise his people such a constitution as they would have no reason to disapprove: his first care was, to arrange matters with the foreign potentates who occupied his capital, so as to be able, as speedily as possible, to get rid of their numerous armies, whose presence could not fail to be a subject of uneasiness to his own armies, as well as to the people in general: to the credit of the troops themselves, under such extraordinary circumstances, it should be observed, that nothing could exceed the order and forbearance with which they conducted themselves, as victors, in a capital, which, in the way of simple retribution, stood fairly exposed to plunder, exaction, and devastation.

5. Though it was soon settled to refer to a convention at Vienna the final adjustment of matters, and arrangement of peace; yet France was quickly made to understand that her boundaries must be greatly contracted, and that the independence of most of the newly annexed

states and territories must be freely acknowledged; to these terms, both the King and his minister, Prince Talleyrand, plainly saw the necessity of yielding, though the pride of the French was likely to be wounded by it.

6. On the 4th of June, the King presented to the senate and legislative body his own new constitution, which differed in several points from that submitted to him on his arrival; it reserved to himself the right of proposing laws, and the assembly could only request to be permitted to discuss particular points; instead of an hereditary senate, peers, chosen by the King for life, were to compose that body, without limitation of numbers; the popular representatives were to consist of 262, not under 40 years of age: they were to be convoked every year, and were to have the power of impeaching the ministers for treason or extortion: the King was to appoint the judges, and trial by jury was to be continued: the press was placed under a censorship, and an order was given for closing the theatres and shops on the Sabbath; an order not only extremely unpopular at the time, but, as it would seem, ineffectual. In nominating the senate, some of Bonaparte's courtiers and mar-

shals were included, particularly Talleyrand, who became minister for foreign affairs.

7. The King, who from the first commencement of the Revolution had displayed a disposition to favour the rights of the people, more than others of his family, or the chiefs of the emigrants, was little likely of himself to deviate from the principles of the constitution, or to disturb unnecessarily the existing state of things, in which so many interests were involved, but he was supposed to have around him persons still bigotted to the ancient system, and anxious to recover all that they had forfeited by the course of the Revolution. These things, together with the dissatisfied state of the army, paved the way for the return of Bonaparte.

8. The probability of such an event seems to have been strangely overlooked by those who were most interested in preventing it: the popularity of the deposed Emperor had been miscalculated. On the 1st of March, 1815, he landed once more on the shores of France, with only 1140 attendants; an attempt which many judged to be altogether hopeless, yet, to the utter surprize of those who thought so, his progress towards Paris, though not unmolested, afforded him every hour, from the defection of the troops

sent against him, stronger hopes of recovering his authority. On the 20th of March the King was persuaded to retire from Paris; and on the evening of that very day Bonaparte entered it, being hailed by the populace, which had so lately saluted the return of the Bourbons in the same manner, with the loudest acclamations.

9. He was soon convinced, however, that he was not returned to his ancient power, and that he, quite as much as Lewis XVIII., would now be expected to gratify the people with a free constitution; he speedily therefore issued some popular decrees, establishing the freedom of the press; abolishing the slave-trade; and regulating the taxes which weighed most heavily on the people; he also condescended to offer to them the plan of a constitution, very different from the system of despotism upon which he had before acted, and containing many excellent regulations; he had, however, but little time to spare for legislative measures. A manifesto of expulsion and extermination had been issued against him by the congress at Vienna, signed by the plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal, and it was indispensably necessary for him to prepare for war. To this manifesto.

on the part of the allied powers, Bonaparte was not slow in dictating and presenting to Europe a counter manifesto, asserting, in the strongest terms, the right of the French to adhere to the dynasty they had chosen on the expulsion of the Bourbons; and declaring that the confederate princes had been the first to violate the treaty of Fontainebleau; but it is remarkable that, though Bonaparte so peremptorily asserted, in his manifesto, the right of the French freely to choose what dynasty they pleased to reign over them, he had inserted in his new constitution an article, totally and for ever to exclude the Bourbon family from the succession to the throne.

10. It was not till June that the several armies were prepared to take the field, and between the 15th and 19th of that month, the fate of Europe seemed once more to become dependent on the decision of the sword. The battle of Waterloo, which took place on the 18th of June, and in which the British and Prussian armies, under the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blucher, totally defeated the French, effectually put an end to all the hopes and prospects of Bonaparte. On the 20th he arrived at Paris, the first of his fugitive army; and in a very few days after, was compelled a second time to resign his usurped dominions. On his retirement

from Paris, his destination appeared to be a matter of extreme doubt, till on the 15th of July he put himself into the hands of the English by going on board the Bellerophon man of war, and surrendering himself and suite unconditionally to Captain Maitland, the commander of that ship, who sailed immediately to Torbay with his prisoners, none of whom were permitted to land.

11. On the third of July, not however without a struggle on the part of the French army, Paris had formally surrendered to the Duke of Wellington and Prince Blucher, who took possession of it on the 7th, and on the 8th the King returned, greeted, as before, with the cheering and acclamations of the fickle multitudes who thronged the roads by which he had to pass. By the terms of capitulation, the French troops under Davoust had been made to retire beyond the Loire, which they did with sullen indignation; but on the arrival of the Austrians and Russians at Paris, came over to the King. It was very obvious, that having the great disturber of Europe once more in their power, the allies could not fail to discern the glaring impropriety of suffering him to return again into any situation which might afford him the means of communi-

cating with his old adherents, and thereby resuming the station he had occupied for so many years, to the annoyance of the whole Continent. The small, rocky, and totally detached island of St. Helena, in the Atlantic Ocean, seemed the only secure place of abode to which he could be assigned. It was therefore agreed to send him thither, under the custody of the British government, but under the eye, also, of commissioners appointed to reside there, on the part of the Austrian, Russian, and French governments. On the 17th of October, 1815, he arrived at his destined residence.

12. Amongst the measures adopted by the military commanders of the foreign troops at Paris, none seemed more to occupy the attention of Europe than the determination they formed to restore to the places which had been robbed of them the valuable works of art, which the victories of the French armies had put into their possession, not merely in the way of plunder, but upon a regular system of purloining every thing which could add to the splendour and greatness of their own capital, however grating to the feelings of those from whom they were taken, and however severely it must have added to the mortifications they had been doomed to suffer from weakness or defeat. The justice of

such a step could not be disputed, though nothing was more likely to excite the resentment and indignation of the French, in whose hands it must be acknowledged, had they been properly acquired, they were likely enough to be preserved and exhibited to the world, in a manner the most conducive to the glory and immortality of the illustrious artists to whom they owed their origin; but, as an act of honourable restitution, in many instances to persons and places whose claims would otherwise have been mocked and derided, the interposition of the two victorious chiefs upon this occasion may be justly admired. Prince Blucher, indeed, had a direct interest in reclaiming the spoils of Berlin and Potzdam, but the Duke of Wellington, while he had nothing to recover for his own country, freely assisted those whose pretensions required the support of such paramount authority.

13. By the second general pacification of Paris with the allies, November 20th, 1815, it was agreed that an army of occupation, amounting to 150,000 men, and to be maintained in a great measure by France, should for the space of five years be put in possession of her frontier fortresses, while her boundary should be farther

reduced than on the former occasion, terms sufficiently mortifying, but justified by the turbulent and unsettled principles of the French nation. Though the period of five years, however, had been specifically agreed to, the state of things afterwards appearing such as to justify the allies in departing from the exact letter of the treaty, in the spring of the year 1817 they consented to reduce the army of occupation one-fifth, and in the autumn of 1818 it was wholly withdrawn from the French territories, and the fortresses on the frontier restored.

XXII.

NORTHERN STATES OF EUROPE, FROM THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

1. THOUGH much has been said of the northern courts in the preceding sections, as bearing a part in the transactions on the Continent, during the last and present centuries, yet as they have not been mentioned distinctly and particularly, some brief account of them may be necessary; to give a clearer view of the course of events during the period under consideration.

2. Peter the Great, of RUSSIA, who died in 1725, (see Sect. LXVI. § 2.) was succeeded by his widow, Catherine I., who survived him only two years. It is remarkable, that though Peter had taken particular care to secure to the reigning monarch a power of naming his successor, he himself should neglect this precaution; and for such an omission the law had made no provision. Catherine, however, had little or no difficulty to take his place. She was a woman, if not of a superior, yet of rather an extraordinary character; had attended Peter in his travels and campaigns; been serviceable to him in his greatest extremities; often checked the violence of his passion; and manifested a disposition, during her short reign, to encourage a spirit of liberty amongst her subjects, and to promote, in every way she could, the progress of improvement and civilization. Her death was little expected, and excited some suspicions against the Prince Menzicoff, who had just negotiated a treaty with Austria, and entered into a stipulation to raise the son of the unfortunate Prince Alexis to the throne, upon the condition of his marrying his daughter.

3. The Empress died in 1727, and was succeeded by Peter II., grandson of Peter I. Men-

zicoff, however, seemed to take into his own hands the reins of government, till he was supplanted by one of the Dolgorouki family, and banished to Siberia, with his wife and children. The new favourite designed to marry his sister to the Emperor; but on January 29. 1730, Peter died of the small-pox. In him the male issue of the line becoming extinct, Anne Duchess of Courland was called to the throne through the influence of Dolgorouki, contrary to the order of succession established by Peter I., and in prejudice of her elder sister, the Duchess of Mecklenburg. They were both of them the daughters of Iwan, the eldest brother of Peter.

4. The reign of Anne was prosperous and glorious; she showed great sagacity and firmness in resisting the intrigues, and balancing the credit of rival statesmen, counsellors, and generals, Russian and foreign; maintaining her prerogatives against those who sought to invade them, to further their own ambition, particularly Dolgorouki, who, though he had placed her on the throne, was disgraced and banished to Siberia. Anne died in 1740, leaving the crown, by her will, to her grand-nephew Iwan, son of her niece, Anne, Princess of Mecklenburg, married to the Duke of Brunswick Bevern; but she appointed

her favourite, Count Biren, whom she had brought with her from Courland, Regent.

5. This last arrangement threw things into the utmost confusion. Biren was deservedly no favourite with the Russians, more than 20,000 of whom he is said to have sent into banishment; he had, besides, a powerful rival in Count Münich, the conqueror of Oczakow, a German, and a man of singular bravery and resolution; the latter succeeded in dispossessing the Regent of his authority in favour of the mother of the Emperor. Biren was sent to Siberia; and the Princess of Mecklenburg (Duchess of Brunswick) assumed the reins of government; but not attending sufficiently to the duties of her high station, and appearing to give too great encouragement to foreigners, a new revolution was set on foot, to place on the throne the youngest daughter of Peter the Great, the Princess Elizabeth. This party, supported by French gold, and heeded by Lestocq, a physician, quickly becoming strong, seized upon the Emperor Iwan and his parents, and proclaimed Elizabeth Empress of all the Russias. The life of the infant Iwan was preserved by the clemency and express interposition of Elizabeth; but only to undergo a harder fate. (See below,

§ 8.) Münich was banished; and other foreign generals, who had favoured the former government, either shared the same destiny, or contrived to escape from the Russian dominions. The people were well pleased to see the throne rescued from the hands of foreigners in favour of so direct a claimant, as the daughter of Peter the Great. This revolution took place in the month of November, 1741.

6. Russia flourished under the sway of Elizabeth, whose reign exhibited an uninterrupted career of glory and success: her alliance was courted by some of the greatest powers in Europe. Before her death, which happened in 1762, she took care to restore the natural order of succession in her family, by declaring the Duke of Holstein Gottorp her heir, son of her eldest sister, and who became Emperor on her demise, by the title of Peter III.

7. This unfortunate Prince was not suffered to reign long; he had married a Princess of Anhalt-Zerbst; a woman of singular character, peculiarly fitted to avail herself of any opportunities that might offer in so unsettled a country, to gratify her ambition, and give scope to her abilities. The Prince had not behaved well to her, and many things concurred to render him

unpopular if not hateful to his subjects; particularly an enthusiastic attachment to the King of Prussia, then at war with the Russians, and projected innovations, well-meant but ill-timed, some particularly affecting the clergy. He proposed to circumscribe the power of the nobles, and seemed to prefer the Holstein troops to his Russian guard. As these things rendered his removal probable, according to the ordinary course of proceedings in that semi-barbarous country, the sagacious Catherine, foreseeing that she would be divorced, willingly gave herself up to a party who had conspired against her husband. It is generally conjectured that she connived, not only at the deposition, but at the death of Peter, who survived his elevation to the imperial dignity not many months; while Catherine, by her superior address and intrepidity, not only succeeded in establishing herself upon the vacant throne, but in emancipating herself from the domination of the party to whom she stood indebted for it (the Orloffs).

8. One competitor still seemed to stand in her way, — the unfortunate Iwan, — who had been deposed by Elizabeth, and now languished in confinement, at the age of twenty-four. Soon after Catherine's accession he was slain in prison,

on a pretence of his attempting to escape, but under circumstances so mysterious as to involve the Empress in suspicion. She reigned under the title of Catherine II. for the long space of upwards of thirty-four years, continually occupied in advancing the glory of her people, in augmenting her dominions, and rewarding merit. She obtained many signal advantages over the Turks, and succeeded (1784) in wresting from them the whole district of the Crimea; but her designs extended much farther, even to the expulsion of the Ottomans, and restoration of a Grecian empire, having for its capital Athens or Constantinople: she contemplated, in short, the complete triumph of the Cross over the Crescent. An expedition was even undertaken for the liberation of the Greeks, in the year 1770; but it proved ineffectual, though it might have been otherwise, had the Russian commanders consented to follow the advice of the Scotch Admiral, Elphinstone, who commanded one of the divisions of the fleet.

9. Catherine bore a large share in the partition of Poland, and seems to have been restrained by no principles of justice, humanity, morality, or virtue, from furthering the purposes of her ambition and policy: her prodigality was

great, her largesses enormous, and her love of magnificence little proportioned to the smallness of the imperial revenue: her abilities and her resolution were remarkable, and she may be considered as having contributed largely to the improvement and glory of the country over which she was permitted so long to bear unlimited rule. Her domestic regulations savoured little of the despotism displayed in her foreign enterprises: she mitigated the rigour of the penal laws, abolished torture and slavery, protected the arts and sciences, and endeavoured to elevate the middle class to a proper degree of importance.

10. Catherine II. was succeeded in 1796 by her son Paul I., a strange character, unsettled in his principles, dissolute in his manners, jealous, vindictive, and, in his last days, scarcely in possession of his senses. On his first accession, however, he wisely endeavoured to provide against the evils arising from an unsettled inheritance, by enacting a law to secure the crown to his lineal and direct descendants, not absolutely excluding females, but admitting them only into the line of succession on a total failure of male heirs.

11. The Emperor appeared to be extremely

eager to secure an entrance into the Mediterranean, and was highly gratified with being chosen patron of the order of Malta, which he consented to take under his protection in the year 1798. He had been induced to take a part in the war against the French, and succeeded, in conjunction with the Turks, in getting possession, for a short time, of the Ionian islands; a Russian army was also sent to co-operate with the Austrians, under the command of the celebrated Souwarow (or Souvaroff), who, after having achieved great victories in Lombardy, seems to have been cruelly abandoned in Swisserland, and to have unjustly incurred the displeasure of his capricious master. A misunderstanding between the English and Paul, on the subject of Malta, entirely alienated the latter from the confederacy. In the mean while, his violent conduct had induced the great officers of state and the nobility to conspire to dethrone him. He was slain in defending himself, during a conflict, in his own chamber, March 24. 1801; and, greatly to the joy of his oppressed people, succeeded by his son Alexander, the present Emperor, of whose accession, and share in the continental war, an account has already been given.

12. PRUSSIA, as a kingdom, is not older than the eighteenth century, and entirely belongs therefore to the period under discussion. Its history, as connected with the electorate of Brandenburgh, ascends as high, perhaps, as that of any sovereignty in Europe. Its present power may be said to have taken its rise from the wisdom, judgment, and good sense of the Elector Frederic-William, commonly called the Great Elector, who had Ducal Prussia confirmed to him in 1657, and by the conventions of Walau and Bromberg, rendered independent of the crown of Poland, of which, till then, it had been a fief. In the time of the Great Elector, advantage was taken of the unsettled state of Europe, to increase the population, and thereby advance the wealth and improvement of the country in every respect. The revocation of the edict of Nantes in France, 1685, contributed largely to these ends, the Prussian states being freely set open to the refugees of all descriptions; an act of more policy, as the Elector himself, though tolerant, was extremely devout and careful of the privileges, and even exemptions, of the clergy.

13. The Elector, Frederic-William, died in 1688, and was succeeded by his son Frederic,

who, through the influence of the Protestant states, and the good-will of the Emperor Leopold, to whom he had been of service in his contest with France, but who seems to have taken such a step with little judgment or consideration, became King in 1701, and died in 1713, at the very period when, by the treaty of Utrecht, his regal title was confirmed and generally acknowledged by the other states of Europe. Frederic I. was generous, but fickle, superstitious, and vain: he founded the University of Hall, the Royal Society of Berlin, and the Academy of Nobles, but without taking much interest in their concerns, and chiefly at the instigation of his more learned consort, the Princess Charlotte of Hanover; he managed, however, to augment, by many acquisitions, purchases, and exchanges, the extent of his dominions.

14. His successor, Frederic-William II., is judged to have done much more to raise the credit and character of his new kingdom, by excessive prudence, and good management, and the utmost attention to his army; whereby he not only repaired the loses occasioned by his father's extravagances, but amassed great treasures, and laid the foundation for those stu-

pendous military achievements, which, in the next reign, advanced Prussia to that high state of glory and eminence which has given it such weight in the political scale of Europe. Frederic abolished, in 1717, all the fiefs in his kingdom: he invited colonies from all parts to settle in his dominions. Like his great predecessor and namesake, he established military schools and hospitals, but he was no friend to literature; unpolished in his manners, and implacable in his resentment. He added to the dominions of Prussia, Stettin and the greater part of Swedish Pomerania.

15. On the death of Frederic-William II., in 1740, his son (who is sometimes called Frederic II., to distinguish him from the Frederic-Williams, and sometimes Frederic III.,) came to the throne. Of this monarch so much is known, and so much has already been noticed and recorded in the other sections of this work, that we have little to say here, but that he managed to raise a scattered, ill-sorted, disjointed kingdom into the first rank of power and renown; that he applied himself incessantly to promote the welfare and improvement of his dominions, to augment the wealth, and advance the civilisation of his people, though in many of his regu-

lations and measures to these ends, he erred continually, as his predecessors had done, by intermeddling too much, and for want of a due knowledge of some of the first principles of political economy, a science at that period little cultivated. Some of his plans and undertakings were positively absurd. Frederic died August, 1786, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and forty-seventh of his reign, more admired than esteemed; more distinguished for bravery in the field, wisdom in the cabinet, and literary attainments, than for any virtues or qualities of a nobler nature. He has had the reputation of being the author of two very important measures, the partition of Poland, and the armed neutrality. The credit, or rather discredit, of the first, may probably be very fairly divided between himself and Catherine of Russia; the second, as a matter of self-defence, and a jealous regard for the liberty of the seas, reflects no dishonour on his character. It is a point that should be better settled than it seems to be, by the strict rules of international and maritime law.

16. Frederic was succeeded by his nephew Frederic-William. Of the part taken by this monarch in support of the House of Orange, in 1787, of his opposition to the French, in 1792, and of the share he had in the two last partitions

of Poland, in 1793 and 1795, by which he gained the territories, first, of South Prussia, and, secondly, of South-eastern Prussia, an account has been given elsewhere. Frederic-William II. died in 1797, aged fifty-three, leaving the crown to his son, the present King, Frederic III., who, as he came to the throne at the moment that Bonaparte began his extraordinary career, in disturbance of the peace of the Continent, was necessarily involved in all the difficulties and confusion of those times, as has been already shown: he joined the armed neutrality in 1800, caused Hamburgh to be shut against the English, and occupied the states of Hanover, 1801, which being annexed by France to Prussia, in 1805, in exchange for a part of the Duchy of Cleves, Anspach, Bareuth, Neufchatel, and Valengin, provoked the resentment of England and Sweden. In 1806, the King rashly engaged in war with France, and was nearly deprived of his kingdom: the losses he sustained by the treaty of Tilsit, have been mentioned. (Sect. XVI.) In 1812, Frederic was compelled by France to furnish an auxiliary force against Russia, but was afterwards, on the retreat of the French from Moscow, able to break through this engagement, and conclude a

treaty of neutrality with Russia. From this time to the abdication of Napoleon, Prussia acted in close confederacy with the allies, the King being constantly with his army till their entrance into Paris, March, 1814. On the return of Bonaparte, 1815, the Prussians were the first to take the field, under their celebrated general, Prince Blucher, and in the battle of Waterloo, reaped the splendid glories of that day in conjunction with the British. Since that time Prussia has enjoyed a state of peace, though not undisturbed as to her internal concerns.

17. The crown of SWEDEN, on the demise of Charles XII., 1718, (see Sect. LXVI. § 9. Part II.) was conferred on his youngest sister, Ulrica Eleanora, by the free election of the states. On the death of Charles, whose strange proceedings had greatly exhausted the kingdom, and occasioned the actual loss of many provinces, an opportunity was taken, once more, to limit the kingly power, which had been rendered almost absolute in the reign of Charles XI., and to make the crown elective. The new Queen, who was married to the hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, and who had been offered the crown in prejudice of the son and representative of her elder sister, the Duchess of Holstein Gottorp, readily submitted to the conditions

proposed by the states for limiting the royal authority, but soon after her accession resigned the government to her royal consort, who was crowned by the title of Frederic I., 1720.

18. The new King ruled the nation with little dignity, and less spirit; submitting to every thing imposed on him by the states, till the government became more republican than monarchical. The Swedish territories were also much reduced during the early part of his reign. In the course of the years 1719, 1720, 1721, Sweden ceded to Hanover, Bremen and Verden; to Prussia, the town of Stettin; and to Russia, Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Wiburg, a part of Carelia, and several islands.

19. It was during this reign that the rival factions of the *Hats* and *Caps* had their origin, and which caused great trouble; the former being generally under the influence of France, the latter of Russia. To deter the latter from assisting the Queen of Hungary, in the war that took place on the death of Charles VI., France made use of its influence with the *Hats*, to involve Sweden in hostilities with Russia, for which she was ill prepared, and from which she suffered considerably. Her losses were restored to her in some measure by the peace of Abo,

1743, but upon the positive condition that Frederic should adopt as his heir and successor, at the instance of the Czarina, Adolphus-Frederic, Bishop of Lubec, uncle to the Duke of Holstein Gottorp, presumptive heir to the throne of Russia, and nephew to the Queen of Sweden, who would more willingly have had the latter for her successor.

20. Adolphus-Frederic came to the crown in 1751. The same factions which had disturbed the former reign continued to give him trouble, and though he made some endeavours to get the better of foreign influence, and recover his lost authority, all his efforts were vain. Nothing could exceed the anarchy and confusion that prevailed, encouraged and fomented both by Russia and France, to further their private ends. The King is supposed to have fallen a sacrifice to these disturbances, dying wholly dispirited in the year 1771.

21. He was succeeded by his eldest son Gustavus III., twenty-five years old at the time of his accession; a Swede by birth, and an active and spirited prince, who was bent upon recovering what his predecessors had too tamely surrendered of their rights and prerogatives; in which, being supported by France, he had the

good fortune to succeed. Having found means to conciliate the army, and to reconcile the people to an attack upon the aristocrats, who were betraying the interests of the country, he established a new constitution, 1772, with such good management and address, that the public tranquillity was scarcely for a moment disturbed. This new arrangement threw great power into the hands of the King, by leaving him the option of convening and dissolving the states, with the entire disposal of the army, navy, and all public appointments, civil, military, and ecclesiastical: some alterations were made in 1789, but nothing could reconcile the party whom he had superseded; at least it is probable that this was the occasion of the catastrophe which terminated the life of the unfortunate monarch. Towards the commencement of the French Revolution, in the year 1792, when he was preparing to assist Lewis XVI., (an unpopular undertaking,) he was assassinated at a masquerade by a person encouraged, if not directly employed, by the discontented party of 1772.

22. Gustavus III. was brave, polite, well-informed, and of a ready eloquence; but profligate in his habits of life, and careless as to matters of religion. He promoted letters, agriculture, and

commerce, as far as his means would enable him to do so. His measures appear to have been more arbitrary than his disposition.

23. His son Gustavus IV. being only fourteen years old at the time of his father's death, the Duke of Sudermania, brother of the deceased King, became Regent for a short time. No monarch in Europe manifested a greater zeal in the cause of the French royal family, or disgust at the arbitrary proceedings of Bonaparte, than Gustavus IV., but he was little able to give effect to his wishes; his judgment being weak, and his forces inadequate to contend with the French, especially after the latter, by the treaty of Tilsit, (see Sect. XVI.) had found means to detach and conciliate the Emperor Alexander. After this disastrous treaty, Gustavus became not only the object of French resentment, but of Russian rapacity. He was peremptorily forbidden to admit the English into his ports, and Finland was quickly wrested from him. The Danes also attacked him. In this dilemma, England would have assisted him if she could have trusted him, but, in truth, his rashness and incapacity were become too apparent to justify any such confidence. A revolution was almost necessary, nor was it long before a con-

spiracy was formed, which, in the year 1809, succeeded so far as to induce him to abdicate. His uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, being appointed Protector, and very soon afterwards King, by the title of Charles XIII., the states carrying their resentment against Gustavus IV. so far, as to exclude his posterity also from the throne.

24. Charles XIII. submitted to new restrictions on the kingly authority, and having no issue, left it to the nation to nominate an heir to the crown. Their first choice fell upon the Prince of Augustenburg, a Danish subject, but his death happening soon afterwards, not without suspicion of foul play, Bernadotte, one of Bonaparte's generals, was, in a very extraordinary manner, nominated in his room by the King, and approved by the states. As Crown Prince of Sweden, tempted by the offer of Norway, he joined the confederacy against Bonaparte in 1813, and was present at the battle of Leipzig. (See Sect. XX). On the death of Charles XIII., 1818, he succeeded to the crown, and still reigns, having, by the treaty of Vienna, 1815, obtained Norway, and the island of Guadaloupe.

25. The history of DENMARK during the

eighteenth century, and beginning of the nineteenth, is very uninteresting, in a political point of view. Incapable of taking any leading or conspicuous part in the affairs of Europe, all that we know concerning her relates rather to other countries, as Russia, Sweden, Prussia, France, and England; in whose friendships and hostilities she has been compelled, by circumstances, to take a part, little advantageous, if not entirely detrimental, to her own interests.

26. Five kings have occupied the throne since the close of the seventeenth century, but it will be necessary to say very little of any of them. Frederic IV., who came to the crown in 1699, died in 1730, and was succeeded by Christian VI.; a monarch who paid great attention to the welfare of his subjects, in lightening the taxes, and encouraging trade and manufactures. He reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by his son Frederic V., in the year 1746. Frederic trod in the footsteps of his father, by promoting knowledge, encouraging the manufactures, and extending the commerce of his country. He had nearly been embroiled with Russia during the six months' reign of the unfortunate Peter III., who, the moment he became Emperor, resolved to revenge on the court of Denmark

the injuries which had been committed on his ancestors of the house of Holstein Gottorp. In these attempts he was to be assisted by the King of Prussia. The King of Denmark prepared to resist the attacks with which he was threatened, but the deposition and death of the Emperor fortunately relieved him from all apprehensions, and he was able to compromise matters with Catherine II., by a treaty that was not to take effect till the Grand Duke Paul came of age. By this convention, the Empress ceded to Denmark, in the name of her son, the duchy of Sleswick, and so much of Holstein as appertained to the Gottorp branch of that family, in exchange for the provinces of Oldenburg and Dalmenhorst.

27. Frederic V. died in 1766, and was succeeded by his son Christian VII., who in 1768 married the Princess Caroline Matilda of England, sister to His Majesty King George III. The principal event in this reign was one which involved the unhappy Queen in inextricable difficulties, and probably hastened her death; but which seem still to be enveloped in considerable mystery. A German physician of the court, (Struensee,) who had risen from rather a low station in life to be first minister, having ren-

dered himself extremely obnoxious by a most extensive reform in all the public offices of state, civil and military, and which, had they succeeded, might have done him great credit as a statesman, was accused of intriguing with the young Queen, and by the violence of his enemies, headed and encouraged by Juliana Maria the Queen-Dowager, and her son Prince Frederic, brought most ignominiously to the scaffold. The unfortunate Queen Caroline, whose life was probably saved only by the spirited interposition of the British minister, quitted Denmark after the execution of Struensee and his coadjutor Brandt, and having retired to Zell in Germany, painfully separated from her children, there ended her days, May 10. 1775, in the twenty-fourth year of her age.

28. During the latter part of his life, Christian VII., whose understanding had always been weak, fell into a state of mental derangement, and the government was carried on by the Queen-Dowager and Prince Frederic, as co-regents, with the aid of Barnstoff, an able and patriotic minister. In 1773, the cession of Ducal Holstein to Denmark by Russia took place, according to the treaty above spoken of: this was a very important acquisition, as giving

her the command of the whole Cimbrian peninsula, and enabling her, by forming a canal from Kiel, to connect the Baltic with the German ocean. In the continental wars of 1788, 1793, Denmark remained neuter, but by joining the armed neutrality, in 1800, she excited the suspicions and resentment of Great Britain, and being supposed to favor not only Russia but France, became involved in a contest, which was attended with losses and vexations the most melancholy and deplorable. (See Sect. XX. § 9.)

29. Christian VII. died in 1788, and was succeeded by his son Frederic VI., the present monarch, who had, a few years before, on entering the seventeenth year of his age, been admitted to his proper share in the government, having with singular moderation and prudence succeeded in taking the administration of affairs out of the hands of the Queen-Dowager and her party. Denmark appears to have suffered greatly from the peculiarity of her situation during the struggles arising out of the French Revolution, being continually forced into alliances contrary to her own interests, and made at last to contribute more largely than almost any state to the establishment of peace. The cession of Norway to Sweden, which had been

held out by the allies as a boon to the latter power, to induce her to join the last confederacy against France, being a severe loss to Denmark, and very ill requited by the transfer of Pomerania and the Isle of Rugen, which were all that she received in exchange.

XXIII.

SOUTHERN STATES OF EUROPE, FROM THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

1. THE southern states of Europe underwent such extraordinary revolutions during the preponderance of the French under Bonaparte, that what happened to them during the eighteenth century, previously to these surprising events, seems comparatively of very little consequence; of the changes and disturbances to which they were subject through the interference of the French, an account is to be found in the sections relating to France.

2. SWITZERLAND at the beginning of the eighteenth century was involved in disputes between the Protestants and Catholics, which were attended with very unpleasant circumstances,

These differences, however, were brought to an end by a convention in 1717, which established an equality of religious rights. Things remained very quiet in most of the cantons from this time to the French Revolution, with the exception of the towns of Geneva and Berne, and a few other places, where a disposition was manifested to limit and restrain the aristocratical governments, but which only led at that time to such judicious reforms, as were sufficient to appease the ardor of the people. These disputes, however, may be held to have contributed to the evils which befel the country afterwards. Though the states endeavoured to preserve their neutrality during the progress of the French Revolution, it was not possible, while revolutionary principles were afloat, to keep the country so free from internal disputes and commotions, or so united as to deter the French from interfering. Geneva had already been cajoled out of her independence; but the first decisive occasion afforded to the French of taking an active part in the affairs of Switzerland, arose out of the disputes, in 1798, relative to the Pays de Vaud; the gentry and citizens of which, not thinking themselves sufficiently favoured by the rulers of Berne and Fribourg, began to be clamorous for a change.

The peasantry of Basle also, instigated by an emissary of the French Directory, demanded a new constitution. These disputes opened the way for the introduction of French troops, first under the orders of the Directory, and afterwards under Bonaparte, as has been shown in our account of France; and from that period to the conclusion of the war in 1815, Switzerland can scarcely be said to have known a year of repose.

3. Of the condition of VENICE during the eighteenth century, much may be collected from the foregoing sections. She lost the Morea in 1718, but acquired in exchange some towns in Albania and Dalmatia, which however were a very inadequate compensation. Some ecclesiastical reforms took place in the middle of the last century, at which period many convents were suppressed, and the Jesuits expelled. Venice endeavoured to remain neuter during the first movements of the French Revolution, but was soon drawn into the vortex when Bonaparte assumed the command of the French army. By the treaty of Campo Formio, 1797, (see Sect. XV.) her doom was sealed, and this celebrated republic entirely overthrown.

4. In ROME, since the close of the eighteenth century, there has been a succession of many popes, though the last two have filled the papal

chair longer than might be expected, in a sovereignty where the election is generally made from persons advanced in years. Little more than the "*magni nominis umbra*" remained to the popes at the beginning of the eighteenth century, of that temporal power which at one time or other had shaken every throne in Europe. The clergy of France in particular had effectually asserted that kings and princes, in temporal concerns, were independent of the ecclesiastical authority. Clement XI., who was of the family of the Albani, and assumed the tiara in the year 1700, opposed the erection of Prussia into a kingdom; an extraordinary measure of interposition, and which had so little weight as almost to expose his court to ridicule. He espoused the French interests in the contest concerning the Spanish succession, though in 1708 he was compelled, by the vigorous proceedings of the Emperor, to acknowledge Charles III. King of Spain. From this Pope the famous bull *unigenitus* was extorted by the Jesuits, to the great disturbance of France, and the whole Romish church; and the consequences of which, indeed, may be traced even in the present state and circumstances of Europe.

5. Pope Clement XI. died in 1721, and was succeeded by the Cardinal Michael Angelo

Conti, who took the name of Innocent XIII., but being far advanced in years, lived a very short time, dying on the 3d of March, 1724, and on the 29th of May following, Cardinal Ursini, Benedict XIII., was chosen his successor. During his papacy, Commachio, which had been lost to the Roman see in the time of Clement XI., was recovered; Benedict was zealous for the honour of the bull unigenitus, and, in conjunction with Cardinal Fleury, succeeded in procuring the Cardinal de Noailles, one of the most respectable and zealous opposers of it in France, to subscribe it. He had a disposition to unite the Roman, Greek, Lutheran, and reformed churches, but could not succeed. He died 1730, more admired for his virtues and talents, than praised for his wisdom in the management of affairs.

6. Benedict XIII. was succeeded by Clement XII., Laurence Corsini, a Florentine, whose public acts were of little importance. He had disputes with the King of Sardinia, the Republic of Venice, with the Empire and Spain; but much of his pontificate was passed in tranquillity. He died on the 6th of February, 1740. He made considerable and valuable additions to the Vatican Library. On his death, a struggle arose

between the Albani and Corsini families, and the conclave was much agitated. The former prevailed, and succeeded in elevating Cardinal Prosper Lambertini to the papal chair, who took the title of Benedict XIV. His government of the church was extremely mild, and he was regarded as no favourer of the Jesuits, who, during his pontificate, fell into disrepute in Portugal, the first symptom of their decline and fall. This Pope was a man of most amiable manners, a great writer, and possessed of considerable learning; he appears, indeed, to have been one of the most universally beloved of all the Popes. He corrected several abuses, particularly such as had arisen out of the privileges of asylum. He carefully endeavoured to keep clear of disputes and contests, thinking the times unfavourable to the papal authority. He died in the year 1758.

7. The Cardinal Rezzonico succeeded Benedict XIV., and took the title of Clement XIII. His pontificate is memorable for being the æra of the expulsion of the order of Jesuits, (in some instances under circumstances of very unjustifiable precipitation,) from Portugal, France, Spain, Naples, Sicily, Parma, Venice, and Corsica, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the

Pope to uphold them: many of them were actually landed from Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Sicily, on the Pope's territories, as though it belonged to him to maintain them when abandoned by the Catholic sovereigns. The Pope remonstrated, but with little effect. The French seized upon Avignon, and the Neapolitans upon Benevento, to induce him to abandon the order, but he would not. Clement XIII. died suddenly, on February 2. 1769, and was succeeded by the celebrated Ganganelli, who, in compliment to his predecessor and patron, took the title of Clement XIV. This enlightened pontiff was sensible of the decline of the papal authority, and of the prudence of conciliating, if not of humouring, the sovereigns of Europe, against whom, he was accustomed to observe, the Alps and the Pyrenees were not sufficient protection. It was in consequence of this leaning towards the temporal princes, that he secured their concurrence to his being made Pope, his freedom of thought and manners being otherwise obnoxious to the court of Rome. The conclave, by which he was elected, was tumultuous; but at length the Cardinal de Bernis succeeded in procuring him to be chosen Pope, May, 1769. It is well known that this accomplished pontiff, in the year 1773, after

much deliberation, suppressed the order of Jesuits; and, dying in the next year, suspicions were raised that he had been poisoned, but, on opening his body, in the presence of the French and Spanish ministers, enemies to the Jesuits, it was pronounced otherwise. There is little doubt but that he regretted, as head of the church, the step he had been compelled to take; it procured for him, indeed, the restitution of Avignon and Benevento, which had been taken from his predecessor; but in consenting to the dissolution of an order so essential to the papal dominion, he must, in all probability, have yielded to the power of irresistible circumstances. He was of an amiable disposition, much given to literature, indefatigable in business, and highly respected by foreign nations, plain and simple in his manners, and very disinterested.

8. Early in the year 1775, Angiolo Braschi, a descendant of the noble family of Cesena, was chosen to fill the chair vacated by the death of Ganganelli. The new Pope took the title of Pius VI. He is said to have been elected contrary to the wishes and intentions of most of the members of the conclave, a circumstance not unlikely to happen amidst such a contrariety of interests, and the complicated forms of proceed-

ing. As he had thus risen to supreme power, he acted afterwards more independently of the cardinals than any of his predecessors.

9. He had taken the name of Pius VI., in acknowledged defiance of a prevailing superstition, expressed in the following verses, and applied to Alexander VI. particularly, if not to others.

> " Sextus Tarquinius, Sextus Nero, sextus et iste,
> " Semper sub sextis, perdita Roma fuit."

He is known to have, in his troubles, reflected on this rather singular circumstance, with sorrow and dismay. Certainly no pope had greater indignities to sustain, nor could any have greater cause to apply to themselves the ominous prestiges conveyed in the lines just cited; for in the year 1798 his government was overthrown, and Rome lost. The French took possession of it, and proclaimed the restoration of the Roman republic.

10. The Pope's troubles began in 1796, when he was compelled to cede to Bonaparte the cities of Bologna, Urbino, Ferrara, and Ancona, to pay twenty-one millions of francs, and deliver to the French commissioners, sent for the purposes, pictures, busts, statues, and

vases, to a large amount. He afterwards endeavoured to raise an army to recover what he had lost; but he had formed a very wrong estimate of the power of his opponent. He was soon compelled, February 12. 1797, to sue for peace, and submit to further sacrifices at the will of Bonaparte, whom he had certainly very incautiously provoked. By the peace of Tolentino, he renounced all right to Avignon and the Vanaissin, Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna. On the entrance of the French in 1798, the Vatican and Quirinal palaces, and private mansions of the obnoxious amongst the nobility, were stripped of all their ornaments and riches. The people who had invited the French, fancied themselves free, but had very little cause to thank their deliverers. The Pope was forcibly removed from Rome, at the age of eighty, and, by order of the French Directory, transferred from place to place, as the course of events dictated, from Rome to Florence, from Florence to Briançon, and from Briançon to Valence. Another removal to Dijon is said to have been in contemplation, had not the decline of his health become too visible to render it necessary. He died at the latter place on the 29th of August, 1799, in the eighty-second year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his pontificate.

11. Pius VI. was correct in his manners, and a patron of genius, particularly of the fine arts. He spent much money on buildings, notwithstanding the distressed state of the finances, and devoted large sums to the draining of the Pontine marshes, in which almost impracticable undertaking, he partly succeeded. He endeavoured to correct the abuses of sanctuary, which had been carried so far as to give impunity to hired assassins, much to the disgrace of those who protected them. It deserves to be recorded of him, that he displayed great magnanimity, as well as pious resignation, when dragged from his dominions; and though he felt severely the wrongs that had been committed against him by the French and the infatuated Romans, he died tranquilly and serenely.

12. It is remarkable that he had scarcely been dead a month, when Rome was delivered from the hands of its oppressors, and given up to the British, whose fleet, under Commodore Trowbridge, had blocked up the port of Civita Vecchia. Those who had favoured the republican cause were permitted to retire, and the French garrison marched out with the honours of war.

13. In the month of March, 1800, a conclave

of cardinals, under the protection of the Emperor and other Catholic powers, met at Venice to elect a successor to Pius VI., and was not long in fixing upon the Cardinal Chiaremonte, Bishop of Tivoli, Pope Pius VII. In a few weeks after his election, he set out for his new dominions, and arrived at Rome on the 9th of July. In the month of September, 1801, he had the satisfaction of concluding a *concordatum* with the French republic, by which, under the auspices of Bonaparte, then First Consul, the Roman Catholic religion was re-established there. Not only heresy, but infidelity and atheism, had been so openly encouraged and avowed by the French revolutionists, that Pius appears to have thought no concessions too great to accomplish this end; for the terms of the agreement undoubtedly subjected the Gallican church entirely to the civil government, canonical institution being almost the only privilege reserved to the Pope, and every possible encouragement being, at the same time, given to the Protestant churches, Lutheran and Calvinistic.

13. It was very soon discovered, that the new head of the Roman church was to be made to bow as low to the authority of Bonaparte as

his predecessor. In 1804 Pius VII. was summoned to Paris to officiate at the coronation of the French Emperor; and though in the year following he declined attending a similar ceremony at Milan, as has been already shewn, it seems only to have exposed him to greater sacrifices. In 1808 he was deprived of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino, and soon after his temporal sovereignty formally dissolved, and the papal territories annexed to France. Rome was declared to be a free and imperial city; the court of Inquisition, the temporal jurisdiction of the clergy, the right of asylum, and other privileges, were abolished, and, the title of King of Rome appropriated to the heir of the French empire. Pius was conveyed first to Grenoble, afterwards to Savona, and, finally, in 1812, to Fontainebleau, where, for reasons unknown, he was once more acknowledged as a sovereign, till the advance of the allies upon Paris, at last, procured him his liberty; and in 1814 he was reinstated. He made his solemn entrance into Rome on the 24th of May; and in 1815, by the arrangements of the Congress of Vienna, his forfeited estates were re-annexed to the papal dominions. His restoration of the order of Jesuits and of the

court of Inquisition, on his return, occasioned some concern to the greater part of Europe; but his Holiness has generally had the credit of being a man of sense, prudence, and moderation.

XXIV.

OF INDIA, OR HINDOOSTAN.

1. INDIA, or Hindoostan, having largely engaged the attention of Europe since the close of the seventeenth century, may deserve some distinct notice, though little is to be added to what has already been related in former sections, of the political events and transactions which have occurred in that remote region of the globe, during the period alluded to.

2. The celebrated Aurungzebe, who occupied the throne of Delhi, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, lived to the year 1707. In him the spirit of the great Timur, from whom he was the eleventh in descent, seemed to revive. He was brave, but cruel. He attained to a great age, being nearly an hundred years old when he died, having succeeded in rendering almost the whole of the peninsula

subject to his sway, from the tenth to the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, and nearly as much in longitude.

3. But if Aurungzebe, thus raised in his own person the credit of the Mogul throne, its glory also perished with him. A sad scene of confusion ensued upon his death. He had himself, indeed, waded to the throne through the blood of his own kindred. After deposing his father, two of his brothers were slain in contending for the crown. But such was the nature, generally, of the political revolutions of those countries, that had not this been the case, the life of Aurungzebe himself might probably have been sacrificed to similar views and purposes. He is said to have bitterly repented of his misdoings before he died.

4. No sooner, however, was he dead than the most violent contests arose between his own sons, two of whom, Azem and Kaum Buksh, perished in their opposition to their elder brother, who became emperor, under the title of Bahader Shah. The throne, indeed, was such an object of contention, that, in the small space of eleven years, five princes, who attained to the throne, and six, who were candidates for it, successively fell victims to the lusts and passions

of their semi-barbarous competitors. It was in the reign of Feroksere, who was deposed in 1717, that the English East India Company obtained the famous firman or grant, by which their goods of export and import were exempted from duties, and which has been regarded as their commercial charter in India; no other European companies being similarly indulged.

5. In the time of Mahmud or Muhammed Shah, who came to the throne in the year 1718, and who was engaged in disputes with some of his most powerful neighbours and dependents, the celebrated usurper of the Persian throne, Nadir Shah, encouraged, or even invited, as it has been said by some of the discontented princes, particularly the subahdar of the Deckan, invaded the dominions of the Mogul, and with such success, as, in the year 1739, to seize upon Delhi, the capital, with all its treasures, and compel the unhappy sultan to surrender, with the utmost ignominy, his crown and sceptre. He was, indeed, afterwards restored, but with the loss of all his dominions west of the Indus, together with jewels and treasures to an incalculable amount: — some indiscreet insult, offered to the Persians, having been the alleged provocation for delivering the city up to plunder,

and the inhabitants to the sword, with every cruelty and indignity attendant upon such misfortunes. This miserable capital afterwards underwent a second visitation of the same description from one of the followers of Nadir Shah, Abdallah, who had, indeed, been forced into his service, but found means to take advantage of his master's victories, by seizing upon the territories west of the Indus, ceded to Nadir by the unfortunate Mogul, and erecting a sovereignty for himself at Candahar. Nadir Shah was assassinated in his tent, in 1747.

6. By the invasion of the Persians, the power and glory of the Moguls may be said to have been brought to an end. From that period the subordinate states, princes, and viceroys, began to aspire to a degree of independence, and to acquire a consequence before unknown; the Mogul himself becoming a mere nominal sovereign. Those who were most raised at this time by the depression of the sultantic authority, appear to have been,

The Nizam or Subahdar, of the Deckan;
The Nabob of Arcot, or the Carnatic;
The Subahdar of Bengal;
The Nabob of Oude;
The Rajapoote Princes of Agimere;
The Mahrattas;

The Seiks;
The Rohillas;
and
The Jāts.

The disputes and differences that took place between these several powers, after they had shaken off the yoke of the Mogul, opened the door for the interference of the European settlers, towards the middle of the eighteenth century. (See Sect. VI. § 2.) The French first, and afterwards the English, contrived to take advantage of the rival claims set up by the different native powers, and by rendering them assistance against each other, and it is to be feared greatly fomenting their quarrels, soon became acquainted with the manifest superiority of their own tactics, and the influence this must give them in such contests. The French went farther, and first hit upon the expedient of training the natives in the European manner, and incorporating them with their own armies; these were called Sepoys.

7. It was not long before the French and English, who had at first only taken the field as auxiliaries, became opposed to each other as principals; in which conflicts the English succeeded beyond all expectation, and instead of

being driven out of the peninsula themselves, which was evidently in the view of the French under Dupleix, in the year 1751, and 1752, found means to establish themselves there, through the victories of Clive, to the exclusion of all other European nations, except for purposes purely commercial.

8. Clive has justly been regarded as the founder of the British empire in India: he was the first to procure for the Company grants of territory and assignments of revenue, which totally changed the character of our connections with that country, and rendered the native princes, even the Mogul himself, subservient to our purposes. The English had received great provocation from the subahdar of Bengal, in an attack upon Calcutta, and Clive was selected by Admiral Watson to recover from Sourajud Dowlah the town and fort, which had been surrendered to him. At the battle of Plassey, 1757, he not only succeeded in the recovery of Calcutta, but in the deposition of the subahdar, and having appointed his general in his room, obtained a grant of all the effects and factories of the French in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and money contributions to the immense amount

of 2,750,000*l.* sterling, exclusive, of private gratuities.

9. It would have been well if these advantages could have been acquired with less loss of credit to the nation than was actually the case; but there was too much in these first steps towards a territorial establishment, to feed the ambition and cupidity of those entrusted with the management of affairs, to render it probable that they would keep clear of abuses. The opportunities that occurred of intermeddling with the native powers were eagerly seized upon as occasions for enriching the servants of the Company, (drawn from home in expectation of making rapid fortunes,) at the expence of the Company itself, whose affairs were in danger, not only of becoming more embarrassed by the extraordinary expences of such interference, but by the alienation of the minds of the natives, under circumstances little short of the most determined plunder and persecution. In the management of the new-acquired territories, and inland trade, it is no longer to be doubted that the natives suffered in every possible manner, from the most unreasonable monopolies, exorbitant duties imposed on articles of general consumption, abuses in regard to leases, and

fiscal oppressions; so that the lustre of the British name became tarnished, and it was found to be absolutely expedient that some change should take place in the administration of affairs so remote from the seat of all rule and direction, and which, from simply commercial, were now clearly become political and military.

10. The charter of the Company being subject to periodical renewals, afforded opportunities for the interference of the legislature, nor was the Company itself backward, under any pressure of pecuniary embarrassments, to apply to government for assistance. On one of these occasions, the great change that had taken place in the state of things in India induced the government at home to claim for the crown all revenues arising from any new acqusitions made by military force, and in order to repress the inordinate proceedings of the Company's servants, of which the natives, the public at home, and the Company itself, had but too much reason to complain; government also insisted upon taking into its own hands the political jurisdiction of India.

11. These claims and regulations were first proposed in Parliament November, 1772, and may be said to have laid the foundation for that

enlarged system of administration and control which has prevailed since, though under different modifications, from Lord North's bill in 1773 to Mr. Pitt's in 1784. By this latter bill, a board of control, composed of certain commissioners of the rank of privy counsellors, was established, the members of which were to be appointed by the King, and removable at his pleasure. This board was authorised to check, superintend, and control the civil and military government and revenue of the Company; an high tribunal also, for the trial of Indian delinquents, was proposed at the same time. The management of their commercial concerns was left in the hands of the Company, the political and civil authority only transferred to the crown. In 1786, some alterations were made in the bill; the offices of commander-in-chief and governor-general were for the future to be united in the same person, and a power given to the Governor-general to decide in opposition to the majority of the council. The presidencies of Madras and Bombay had been previously, by Lord North's bill, placed under the superintendency of the Governor and Council of Bengal, but by this bill that point also was confirmed.

12. When this bill was passed, it appeared

from the preamble, to be decidedly the opinion of Parliament, of Government, as well as of the Court of Directors, whose orders had for some time breathed the same spirit, that "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India, were measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the nation." It had previously been resolved by the House, "that the maintenance of an inviolable character for moderation, good faith, and scrupulous regard to treaty, ought to have been the simple grounds on which the British government should have endeavoured to establish an influence superior to other Europeans, over the minds of the native powers in India; and that the danger and discredit arising from the forfeiture of this pre-eminence could not be compensated by the temporary success of any plan of violence and injustice."

13. Such was the tenor of the resolutions of the House of Commons in 1782, recognised as the principle of the bill of 1784, and farther confirmed by an act passed in 1793. In all we perceive an evident allusion to those mal-practices of the Company's servants, which will for ever, it is to be feared, remain on record, to tarnish the lustre of our first victories and terri-

torial acquisitions in India, and to detract from the reputation of persons, whose names might otherwise have justly stood high on the list of those, from whose pre-eminent talents and abilities the nation has derived both glory and advantage.

14. The English system of jurisprudence had been extended to India by Lord North's bill of 1773, but under disadvantages extremely embarrassing. The difference of manners, habits, customs; the difficulty, if not impossibility of mingling two codes, so very dissimilar as those of Britain and Hindoostan; the forms and technicalities of the English law, totally unknown to the native courts; the apparent injustice of subjecting a people to laws to which they were no parties, and to which, of course, they had given no sanction. These, and other difficulties have been acknowledged by those who have had to administer the laws under the new system, in India, as having prevented those happy effects taking place, which might otherwise have been expected from the introduction of the English jurisprudence. Since the passing of Mr. Pitt's bill, however, much benefit has certainly been derived from the residence and superintendence of noblemen of the highest rank and abilities, as

governors-general, and of judges the most enlightened, to preside in the Indian courts. The first reforms that were attempted under the new system, though not so successful as might be wished, proceeded from those two most amiable and highly respected personages, the Marquis Cornwallis and Sir William Jones.

15. From the conduct of Lord Cornwallis, and his successors Lord Teignmouth, and Lord Mornington, now Marquess Wellesley, it is extremely evident that the system of neutrality and forbearance prescribed by the resolutions of Parliament, and preamble of the act of 1784, would have been scrupulously adhered to, had it been possible, consistently with the security of our settlements; but towards the close of the eighteenth century, the English were compelled to defend themselves from the most formidable designs of the celebrated Hyder Ally and his son Tippoo Saib, who unquestionably had it in view to exterminate the British, and probably all other Europeans, from the peninsula of India.

16. The result of these conflicts, which took place in Mysore, and the Carnatic, was the total overthrow of a Mahomedan dynasty of only two sovereigns, commencing with a mere adventurer

of most singular character, who having waded through crimes to his object, succeeded in placing himself and his son on one of the most brilliant thrones of the East, and in a condition to give very considerable trouble to the English government there.

17. Hyder Ally, the father of Tippoo, was born in 1722, and died in 1782. Tippoo was born in 1753, and lost his life in the celebrated assault of the capital of his new dominions, Seringapatam, in 1799. They were very different men, having been differently educated. The former had strong natural powers, which compensated for his want of acquired knowledge; the latter was vain of his scanty proficiency in Persian literature, and a few other attainments, to a degree of absurdity; fancying himself the greatest philosopher of the age, the wisest, bravest, and handsomest of men. Hyder was tolerant in religious concerns to a degree of indifference; Tippoo, a bigotted Mussulman, to the utmost pitch of intolerance and persecution. The former meddled little with religion. The latter contemplated changes in Islamism, as in every thing else, having, as a preliminary, substituted a new era in his coins, dating from the birth instead of the flight of

Mahomet. Both father and son were devoid of principle, but the former was much the greatest man.

18. It was owing to the vigilance and prompt measures of Lord Wellesley, that Tippoo was so opportunely overthrown; though his proceedings were weak, they were carried on with much duplicity and deceit, and upon principles of alliance, which in other circumstances might have become very alarming. Under the most positive and repeated assurances of peace and amity, he had intrigued with France, Turkey, the King of Candahar, (a descendant of the celebrated Affghan chief Abdallah,) the Nizam of the Deckan, and the Mahrattas, for the express object of forming a strong confederacy to extirpate the English; in his negociations with the courts of Candahar and Constantinople, indeed, he had declared vengeance against the infidels generally, whence it has been reasonably concluded that his schemes of destruction embraced all the European powers, the French not excepted, had his projects but been successful. Fortunately, Lord Wellesley detected all his plots; and, when it became impossible to treat farther with him on any fair grounds, by the most decisive measures, and rapid movements, effectually averted

the blow that had been decidedly aimed at the British empire in India.

19. On the fall of Seringapatam, the Mysorean dominions were, by allotments to the allies, the British, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, nearly reduced to the limits by which they were bounded before the usurpation of Hyder, and a surviving representative of the Hindoo dynasty, a child only five years old, placed on the throne, with an acknowledged dependency on the British government. The descendants of Tippoo being, however, liberally provided for, and settled in the Carnatic, disturbances in the northern and north-western parts of the peninsula, among the Mahratta chieftains, occupied the attention of the English army, in the early part of the present century, when a fresh opportunity was afforded of triumphing over the intrigues of the French, who headed the adverse forces, and endeavoured to procure for that government a cession of the districts entrusted to their care; but the issue of the contest was entirely in favour of the British. From this time the ascendency of the British in the peninsula has continued so decidedly established, as to render it needless to say any thing of the other European settlements.

20. The acquisition of territory in India, together with the new system of government and control, by rendering it necessary for persons of learning and talent to reside there, have had the effect of improving our knowledge of those remote countries, and opened to us a field of enquiry and research, peculiarly interesting and curious. Among those who may be considered as having most particularly contributed to these ends, we may reckon Mr. Wilkins and Sir William Jones; the former, by having first, with any real success, pursued the study of the Sanscrit language, the root of all the vernacular dialects of the peninsula, and thereby opened to the contemplation of the historian, the antiquarian, the philosopher, and the poet, whatever is interesting in the literature of all the nations east of the Indus; and the latter, by instituting the first philosophical society in those parts, and inviting the learned, in all quarters of the globe, to propose queries in every branch of Asiatic history, natural and civil, on the philosophy, mathematics, antiquities, and polite literature of Asia, and on Eastern arts, both liberal and mechanic, as guides to the investigations of the persons resident in the peninsula, qualified to pursue such enquiries on the spot, and com-

municate to the world in general the results of their discoveries.

21. To this learned society, first established in Bengal, under the presidency of Sir William Jones, we are indebted for all those curious papers preserved in the several volumes of the Asiatic Researches and the Indian Annual Register, and which have so largely contributed to enlarge the boundaries of oriental literature. To the names already mentioned, as having taken the lead in this curious branch of science, we may add those of our countrymen, Halhed, Vansittart, Shore, (Lord Teignmouth, the second president, on the death of Sir William, 1794,) Davie, Colebrooke, Wilford, Rennell, Hunter, Bentley, Marsden, Orme, Carey, Buchanan, Barlow, Harrington, Edmonstone, Kirkpatrick, &c.

22. At the commencement of the present century, it became obvious to the Marquess of Wellesley, then Governor-general, that the state of the British empire in India absolutely required, that the persons sent out to discharge the important functions of magistrates, judges, ambassadors, and governors of provinces, should have some better means of qualifying themselves for such high stations and complicated duties, than

were then in existence. His Lordship's view of these matters, as recorded in the minute of Council, dated August 18. 1800, is highly deserving of consideration, and his plan for forming and endowing a college for these purposes at Calcutta reflect the highest credit on his wisdom and discernment, though the latter has not been carried into execution in the way his Lordship proposed, for want of funds. The East India College, since established in Hertfordshire, may be considered as entirely owing to the adoption by the Company of the enlightened principles contained in the minute alluded to. A system of oriental education is now effectually established, which, though on a much more contracted scale, and in a great measure confined to England, bids fair, it is to be hoped, to accomplish most of the ends contemplated by His Lordship in his original design of founding a college at Fort William, in Bengal, namely, "to perpetuate the immense advantages derived to the Company from their possessions in India, and to establish the British empire in India on the solid foundations of ability, integrity, virtue, and religion."

23. Of the studies to be pursued, according to Lord Wellesley's plan, a competent notion

may be formed from the following list of professorships and lectures:—Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit, Hindostanee, Bengal, Telinga, Mahratta, Tamula, and Canara, languages; Mahommedan law; Hindoo law; ethics, civil jurisprudence, and the law of nations; English law; political economy, commercial institutions and interests of the East India Company, geography and mathematics; modern languages of Europe; Greek, Latin, and English classics; general history, ancient and modern; the history and antiquities of Hindoostan and the Deckan; natural history; botany, chemistry, and astronomy.

24. Though the Company saw reason to withhold its countenance from the original institution, the studies above chalked out have been, in a great measure, adopted in the Hertfordshire College, and its general success hitherto has been pronounced answerable to the expectations of those who were most solicitous in effecting its establishment. The education of the young men, destined to fill the civil offices in India, is now therefore partly European and partly Asiatic; for so much of the collegiate establishment in India may be said to remain, that there the students, who have been taught in England the elements of Asiatic languages, are enabled

to advance to perfection, and to become masters of the several dialects prevailing through the peninsula. Though the original plan of the noble founder of the college of Fort-William has not been adopted by the East India Company, yet, to apply the words of one of the most distinguished of our orientalists, "Good has been done, which cannot be undone; sources of useful knowledge, moral instruction, and political utility, have been opened to the natives of India which can never be closed." In 1814 an ecclesiastical establishment, under the immediate auspices of government, was formed for India, the Right Reverend Dr. Thomas Fanshaw Middleton being consecrated at the archiepiscopal palace, at Lambeth, the first bishop of Calcutta.

It must surprise the English reader to be told, that the population of the British empire in India has been lately estimated at 90,000,000!

STATE OF ARTS, SCIENCES, RELIGION, LAWS, GOVERNMENT, &c.

1. The historical events of the eighteenth century have, we must confess, been found to be of such magnitude and importance, as to occupy rather too large a space in a work professing to be merely elementary; but we should be compelled in a still greater degree to exceed the limits assigned to us, if we were to attempt to enter into the details of the very extraordinary progress that has taken place during the same period, in arts, sciences, and literature; some changes, indeed, have occurred, and more been contemplated, in religion, laws, and government, but in regard to the former, almost all things have become new: we have new arts and new sciences; and in literature, such an overflowing of books upon every subject that could possibly occupy or interest the mind of man, that the most diligent compiler of catalogues would fail in endeavouring barely to enumerate them.

2. It is somewhat extraordinary, indeed, that this great and rapid advancement of knowledge has after all been confined to only a small por-

tion of the globe. The great continent of Africa, though better known than in past times, has made no advances in civilisation. Asia, though many parts have been diligently explored during the last century, and a large portion of it actually occupied by Europeans, remains, as to the natives, in its original state. The vast empire of China has made no progress at all. Japan has effectually shut the door against all improvement. South America, indeed, though labouring under difficulties unfriendly to the progress of knowledge, is yet reported to be making no inconsiderable advances, particularly in Mexico, where both the arts and sciences are cultivated with credit and effect. In North America, also, the arts and sciences and literature may certainly be said to be in a progressive state, but under circumstances of rather slow and partial improvement.

3. Civilised Europe is the only part of the world that can claim the credit of almost all that has been done towards the advancement of knowledge since the commencement of the eighteenth century, and only a few parts after all of civilised Europe itself. Turkey has stood still, as well as her Grecian dependencies, till very lately. Spain, Portugal, and even the

greater part of Italy, have laboured under difficulties and restrictions exceedingly inimical to their advancement, and which have greatly arrested their progress in the career of letters and philosophy. The north and north-eastern parts of Europe have produced many learned men, have been diligently explored, and materials at least collected for great improvements; other parts are also upon the advance: but *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, are undoubtedly the principal countries to which we must look for the most striking progress in every branch of human knowledge. In these three countries, in particular, discoveries have now certainly been made, and principles established, which can never be lost again, and which must, as far as they may extend, be constantly operating to the lasting improvement of the world at large.

4. It would be quite unnecessary to go back to the origin, or former state, either of the arts or sciences, now known and cultivated in Europe. It is pretty generally understood, that, comparatively with the age of the world, they have been only very recently submitted to such processes as bid fair to bring them to the highest state of perfection. One art has helped another, and new sciences been brought to light, that

have greatly promoted the advancement of those before understood and cultivated. Galvanism has assisted electricity; and galvanism and electricity together been exceedingly serviceable to chemistry; chemistry to mineralogy, and so forth: new systems and arrangements, and new nomenclatures, have contributed greatly to render every step that has been taken more accurate and certain, and to place every object of attention or enquiry more exactly in the rank and order it should occupy in the general circle of arts and sciences; but the thing of most importance of all, in regard to the improvements that have taken place since the beginning or middle of the eighteenth century, is, that every thing has been conducted exactly upon those principles, which the great Lord Bacon so strongly recommended, and has, therefore, been found conducive to all those great ends, the neglect of which, in his own and preceding ages, he so much deplored: every thing has had a tendency to augment the powers, diminish the pains, or increase the happiness of mankind.

5. Amongst the sciences so cultivated and advanced since the seventeenth century, as justly to be regarded as new, we may rank *Chemistry*,

Botany, Electricity, Galvanism, Mineralogy, Geology, and in many respects, *Geography*: every one of these sciences has been placed on so very different a footing, by the recent manner of treating them, and by new discoveries, that it is better, perhaps, at once to consider them as new sciences, than to advert to former systems founded on totally erroneous principles, and which have been, on that account, very reasonably exploded.

6. Chemistry, however, even in the course of the period before us, has undergone very essential changes; it is now not only a very different science from the chemistry that prevailed antecedent to the eighteenth century, but the eighteenth century itself has witnessed a remarkable revolution in its leading principles: some, indeed, of the most important changes approach nearer to the nineteenth than the seventeenth century, if they do not actually belong to the former; at all events, it was not till towards the close of the eighteenth century that chemical experiments had been pushed so far as to displace two of the elements of the old philosophy, and totally supersede the prevailing theory of heat, light, and combustion; a theory which was itself not much more than half a century old. Stähl, the celebrated disciple of

Becher, born in 1660, but who lived to 1734, has the credit of being the author of the phlogistic system, which began to be attacked late in the last century, and seems now to be totally exploded. Whether the rival theory will ultimately maintain its ground in all points, may, perhaps, appear still doubtful to some: the French claim to be the authors of the new theory; but though the experiments they very ably conducted were highly conducive to the establishment of it, the way seems to have been more opened to them by others than they are willing to acknowledge, particularly by English observers. The phlogistic system was a plausible theory in certain respects, but in others totally indefensible; and, perhaps, a better proof of the utility of repeated experiments could not be produced, than that which ascertained that, instead of the extrication of a particular substance by combustion, something was undoubtedly added to, or imbibed by, the combustible body, in order to the separation of its parts; that, in fact, in the actual process of combustion, affinity produces a double decomposition, and that a certain portion of the atmosphere entering into union with the combustible body produces all those appearances, which, under the

former system, had been attributed to the extrication of an unknown principle of inflammability, denominated Phlogiston.

7. The very curious experiments, made to confirm and establish the latter system, have been of the greatest importance in regard to other matters, particularly to that branch of the new chemistry which has been denominated the *Pneumatic* system. The discoveries in this line of experiment, which has the air for its subject, exceed, perhaps, all others in importance and interest: the analysis of the common atmosphere has opened to our view a series of physical operations constantly going on, the most wonderful and delicate that can possibly be conceived: the respiration of animals is of this description. The atmosphere is now known to be a most curious compound of two sorts of air, or gases, (as they have been named of late,) the one capable of supporting life and flame, the other destructive of both: in combustion, calcination of metals, and respiration, the process is the same, —a decomposition of the atmosphere: the pure part is imbibed, and the impure part left subject to further contamination, by what is given out by the combustible, calcining, or respiring bodies during the operation;

for, as it was before said, the decomposition, in all instances, is a double one; the proportion of the two parts of the atmosphere has been ascertained to be in a hundred, twenty-two of pure or *vital*, and seventy-eight of impure or *azotic*, gas.

8. The discovery of the vital air is acknowledged by M. Lavoisier to have been common to himself with two other eminent chemists, Dr. Priestley and the celebrated Scheele. Dr. Priestley discovered it in 1774, Scheele in 1777, M. Lavoisier in 1775: the former seems undoubtedly to have the best claim to the discovery. M. Lavoisier, at first, called it "highly respirable air;" afterwards, as entirely essential to the support of life, "vital air:" Dr. Priestley, who lived and died an advocate for the phlogistic system, "dephlogisticated air;" and Scheele called it "empyreal air." It at last obtained another name, from its being *supposed* to be the cause of acidity, viz. "oxygen gas."

9. Who is justly to be accounted the father of the pneumatic chemistry, it would, perhaps, be hazardous to say: Dr. Black of Edinburgh has had the credit of being so, from his experiments on the carbonic acid. It has been claimed for Dr. Priestley, Scheele, and M. Lavoisier; the discoveries in this line certainly

constitute a grand æra in chemistry. The many various kinds of gases that have been now discovered; the very curious experiments made to ascertain their properties; the instruments invented to render such experiments certain; the new compounds that have been detected by their means, and their operation and effects in almost every branch of physics, it would far exceed our limits to describe; but it is impossible not to notice the extraordinary discovery of the decomposition of *water*, which belongs entirely to pneumatic chemistry.

10. Till within less than half a century ago, *water* was esteemed to be so certainly an elementary principle, that but few ever dreamed of its being otherwise; and it was almost by accident that it was at last found to be a compound. In the course of certain pneumatic experiments, it was ascertained by Mr. Cavendish, that *water* was produced by a combination of two particular gases: both analysis and synthesis were resorted to, to render this curious discovery more certain; and it was at length ascertained, not only that those two gases were constantly produced in certain proportions from the decomposition of water, but that water was as constantly the result of a judicious mixture of those

two gases: the *gases* thus constituting the proper principles of water, were the *vital* and *inflammable* airs of the first chemical nomenclature of modern days, better known now by the names of *oxygen* gas and *hydrogen* gas; the latter evidently so called from its importance, as a constituent base or radical of water: we owe the discovery of it to our countryman, Mr. Cavendish. The proportion between the two gases in these curious experiments has been found to be eighty-five of oxygen to fifteen of hydrogen: both oxygen and hydrogen being combustible, their combination for experimental purposes is brought about by inflammation, through the means of the electric spark.

11. Having given this short account of the leading discoveries in pneumatic chemistry; discoveries which have opened to us totally new views, of certain physical operations of the first importance, and greatly extended our knowledge of chemical substances and their properties, simple and compound, visible and invisible, confineable and unconfineable; we shall be compelled to be much more brief in what further relates to modern chemistry.

12. Of late years almost all the substances in nature have been examined; and probably al-

most all the combinations of them exhausted: new metals to a large amount, new earths, and new acids, have been discovered; the fixed alkalis decomposed, and their nature ascertained; the whole range of chemical affinities and attractions nicely arranged and determined, as far as experiment can reach; and many elastic æriform fluids brought to light, distinguished from each other by their different bases, which were totally unknown before to natural philosophers, under the forms in which they are now obtained; and which have been thought deserving of being formed into a *fourth class* or *kingdom*, amongst the productions of nature: the proper distinction of these elastic fluids, or *gases*, as they have been denominated, (after a term adopted by Vanhelmont, signifying a spirit or incoercible vapour,) being that of some base, saturated with the cause of heat or expansion, called in the new nomenclature *caloric*; by means of some of these gases, so combined with caloric, a power has been obtained of fusing the most refractory substances in nature.

13. To render the nice and delicate experiments necessary in this new branch of chemical science more accurate, numerous instruments have been invented, of very curious construc-

tion; such as the *eudiometer*, to measure the purity of any given portion of air; the *gazometer*, to measure the quantities, &c. of gases; the *calorimeter*, for measures of heat; to which we may add various descriptions of *thermometers* and *pyrometers*, particularly the *differential thermometer* invented by Mr. Leslie of Edinburgh, and its accompaniments; the *pyroscope*, or measure of radiant heat; the *photometer*, to ascertain the intensity of light; very curious and delicate *balances*, some that are said to be capable of ascertaining a weight down to the seven millionth part, deserve to be mentioned, as extraordinary instances of skilful workmanship; many different sorts of *hygrometers* also have been constructed, particularly one by the same ingenious experimentalist, already mentioned, Mr. Leslie, calculated to render more correct the examination of all processes dependant upon evaporation; but it would be endless to attempt to describe the many instruments and contrivances rendered necessary by the extreme delicacy and minuteness of modern chemical and pneumato-chemical experiments; it is sufficient to state, in a history of the progress of arts and sciences, that, in all instances, invention appears to have kept pace with expe-

riment; and that the world has been almost as much enriched by the new invented means of discovery, as by the discoveries to which they have conduced; while the skill and judgment requisite to construct the expensive and complicated instruments indispensably necessary for ascertaining the analysis and synthesis of bodies, with such exquisite precision, as to quantity and proportion, have conspired greatly to advance the several arts connected with such machinery, as well as to quicken the intelligence and ingenuity of the artists themselves; in this line, perhaps, nobody has acquired greater celebrity than the late Mr. Ramsden, the maker of the balance of the Royal Society, whose extraordinary powers have been alluded to above.

14. Among those who have principally distinguished themselves in the improvement and advancement of chemical science, since the commencement of the eighteenth century, we may justly mention the names of Stähl, Fourcroy, Macquer, Lavoisier, Guyton-morveau, Berthollet, Klaproth, Vauquelin, Chaptal, Gay-Lussac, Kirwan, Tennant, Wollaston, Priestley, Cavendish, Black, Irwine, Crawford, Leslie, Hall, Thompson, Brande, and Davy. To the last of whom, our illustrious countryman, we stand

indebted for some of the most remarkable discoveries, and most laborious analyses of compound substances, which have taken place under the new system; nor has he been deficient in applying his scientific attainments to practical purposes, in his elements of chemical agriculture, and above all, the *safety-lamp*, whereby he may possibly, in combating the fatal effects of the fire-damp in coal-mines, have contributed to preserve the lives of thousands and thousands of his fellow-creatures; this discovery was the fruit of many most laborious, difficult, and even dangerous experiments.

15. When we consider the many uses of chemistry, and the immense advantages to be derived from every improvement of it, in a variety of manufactures, in medicine, in metallurgy, in the arts of dyeing, painting, brewing, distilling, tanning, making glass, enamels, porcelain, and many others, we may easily conceive that the progress and advancement of this one branch of science alone, during the last and present century, must have contributed largely to the improvement of many things, on which all the comforts and conveniences, the happiness, the security, the well-being, the prosperity, and even the lives of men, depend.

BOTANY.

1. Botany is another of the sciences, which, from the changes it has undergone, and the great progress it has made since the commencement of the eighteenth century, may justly be regarded as new.

2. Already were the names of Ray, Rivinus, and Tournefort, well known to the lovers of this interesting study, forming as it were a new æra in the history of botany, and imparting a lustre to the close of the seventeenth century, for which it will ever be memorable. Their attempts at arrangement may be justly considered as the commencement of a career which was destined to acquire its full degree of developement during the eighteenth century, under the happy auspices of the most celebrated botanist the world ever saw; the great and illustrious Linnæus.

3. This extraordinary man was born at Rashult, in the province of Smaland, in Sweden, on the 24th of May, 1707; and before he was twenty-one years of age, had made himself so thoroughly acquainted with the study of plants,

as well as with the merits and defects of his predecessors in that line, as to conceive the idea of remodelling the whole fabric of systematic botany, and of placing it on a new foundation, namely, the *sexuality* of vegetables. This bold and enterprising undertaking he not only projected, but accomplished with a rapidity and success that excited the wonder and astonishment both of his friends and enemies.

4. His first work was published in 1730, being a brief exposition of the new principle on which his system was to be founded; and the method may be said to have been completed in 1737, when he published his *Genera Plantarum*, which contained a description and arrangement of nearly one thousand genera, comprising upwards of eight thousand species, and constituting what has been since known by the name of the *sexual* system.

5. At first it was either opposed as a fanciful innovation, or received with doubt and distrust; but its fame soon began to spread, and to bear down before it all opposition, till it ultimately met with the almost universal reception of botanists in every country in Europe.

6. In 1742, Linnæus was chosen professor of botany at Upsal, and in 1753 he published his

Species Plantarum. His authority was now supreme, and the impulse he communicated to the study of vegetables unprecedented in the annals of botany; hence the various voyages that were undertaken by his immediate disciples, Kalm, Læpling, Hasselquist, and others, or which have been since undertaken by their successors, aided by the munificence of princes, or the zeal of private individuals, as well as the various societies that were sooner or later instituted, with a view to the advancement of botanical knowledge; amongst which the Linnæan Society of London, founded in 1788, stands pre-eminent, under the presidency of Sir James Edward Smith, one of the most distinguished of the followers of Linnæus, and the possessor of his herbarium, library, and manuscripts.

7. The acquisitions thus made to the mass of botanical knowledge are altogether astonishing. Botanists are now said to be acquainted with upwards of forty thousand species of plants; and still there are regions of the earth unexplored, and flowers without a name ("*et sunt sine nomine flores*").

8. We cannot, however, refuse to acknowledge that botany has also derived the most important advantages from such cultivators of the science

as cannot be ranked amongst the disciples of Linnæus, though they have equally contributed to the advancement of the knowledge of plants, at least in the department of the study of their natural affinities. The grand and ultimate end of botany, which Linnæus himself knew well how to appreciate, and even to improve, as may be seen in his prelections published by Giseke, and in his *Fragments* of *a Natural Method.* But it was left for the illustrious Jussieu, the most accomplished botanist of the present age, to give to that method the comparative perfection which it has actually obtained, and to erect the noble superstructure of his *Genera Plantarum;* a work exhibiting the most philosophical arrangement of plants, as well as the most complete view of their natural affinities, that was ever presented to the contemplation of man.

9. This work was published at Paris in 1789, and the *natural* method of Jussieu, which may be regarded as having at all times stood in opposition to the *artificial* method of Linnæus, seems now to be advancing to a more direct rivalship than ever. Even in the works of such botanists as profess to be the disciples of Linnæus, there seems to be a leaning to the method of Jussieu; but whether the natural method

of the latter will be suffered ultimately to prevail, or the artificial method of the former, time only can shew.

10. Great, however, as the progress of systematic botany has undoubtedly been, during the course of the last, and beginning of the present century, the progress of physiological botany has perhaps been still greater. In proof of this, it will be sufficient to mention the names of Hales, Bonnet, Du Hamel, Hedwig, Spallanzani, Gærtner, Knight, Keith, and Mirbel; each of whom has distinguished himself in the field of phytological investigation, and eminently contributed to the advancement of the science. Above all, we must not fail to mention the name of Priestley, as being the first who introduced into the study of phytology the aid of pneumatic chemistry, which, under the happy auspices of Ingenhouz, Senebier, Saussure, Ellis, and Davy, and, lastly, of Gay-Lussac and Kenard, has done more to elucidate the phenomena of vegetation, than all other means of investigation, and has furnished, as the foundation of the physiology of plants, a body of the most curious and undoubted facts.

11. Before we dismiss this part of our subject, it is not unfit that we should notice the extraordinary progress that has been made at the same

time in distinct branches of the science, as well as in the application of the arts of drawing, engraving, and colouring, for the purposes of illustration, and for exhibiting to the eye at all times, in all places, and at all seasons, the beautiful and interesting productions of the vegetable kingdom, in such perfection, as, as nearly as possible, to supersede the necessity of living specimens; sometimes so rare and inaccessible as to be out of the reach of the most scientific. There is no branch of knowledge which has furnished more splendid and elaborate works of this nature than that of botany, or in which the arts have been carried to a greater degree of perfection and delicacy; and as a study so elegant and agreeable cannot well be rendered too general, it is pleasing to observe, that through the improvements that have thus taken place, and the facilities afforded to such publications, not a month passes in this kingdom without large additions being made to the general stock of botanical knowledge, in works of singular beauty and correctness; though far from costly, considering the pains bestowed upon them.

12. The lovers of botany stand greatly indebted, also, to those learned persons who have made it their particular business to collect, ex-

amine, and describe the plants of countries and districts, and to supply them with distinct *Floræ*, both foreign and domestic, as the Flora Britannica of Smith, the Flora Anglica of Hudson, the Flora Scotica of Lightfoot, the Flora Cantabrigiensis of Relhan, the Flora Oxoniensis of Sibthorpe, the Flora Londinensis of Curtis, the Flora Græca, the Flora Peruviana, the Flora Danica, the Flore Françoise, and others much too numerous to mention; in the same class may be reckoned those works which are still further confined to the description or illustration of particular genera of plants, as in our own country, the Carices, by Goodenough; the Grasses, by Stillingfleet; the Menthæ Britannicæ, by Sole; the Pines, by Lambert; the Fuci, by Turner; and various others.

ELECTRICITY.

1. Though the property of excitation existing in *amber* (ελεκτρον) appears to have been known to Thales six hundred, and to Theophrastus three hundred, years before Christ, yet *electricity* (which takes its name from this circumstance) and galvanism, as it is still called, may decidedly

be regarded as sciences which have sprung up during the period to which our present enquiries belong. It was not, indeed, till towards the middle of the eighteenth century that experiments in electricity were pursued with any degree of ardor, success, or advantage. Mr. Hawksbee wrote learnedly upon the subject in 1709, but it was not till twenty years afterwards that Mr. Grey and M. Du Faye at Paris, engaged in some experiments which contributed to throw light upon the subject. Mr. Grey, who resumed his experiments in 1734, saw enough to lead him to conclude that the electric fluid and lightning were the same, which was not, however, effectually proved till the year 1752, when the celebrated Dr. Franklin, of America, with great ingenuity, and no small degree of courage, ascertained the fact by decisive experiments; a discovery which he soon applied to practical purposes, by the invention of metallic conductors for the security of buildings, ships, &c., during storms.

2. As experiments could not be profitably undertaken till a suitable apparatus was provided, it is equally evident, that the improvement of such apparatus must greatly have depended on the progress of the science. The Leyden phial

for the accumulation of the electrical power in glass was invented about 1745, and the general apparatus gradually improved by Van Marum, Cunæus, Dr. Nooth, Mr. Nairne, Dr. Priestley, Messrs. Read, Lane, and Adams. To Professor Volta of Como we stand indebted for two very useful and important electrical instruments, the Electrophorus, and Condenser of electricity. Many sorts of electrometers for measuring the quantity and quality of electricity in an electrified body have also been invented.

3. In 1747 electricity began to be used for medical purposes, and was supposed to be of efficacy in cases of rheumatism, deafness, palsy, scrophula, cancers, abscesses, gout, &c.; but the progress of medical electricity has not been great, while the want of an apparatus, and the knowledge and skill requisite to apply it properly, must always prevent its becoming any very common remedy.

4. Galvanism, which may be said to have been engrafted on electricity in 1791, was the discovery of the celebrated Galvani of Bologna; it has been called animal electricity; his first experiments having been made on animals, and tending manifestly to prove the identity of the nervous and electric fluids, though this was for

some time doubted. M. Galvani discovered that, without any artificial electricity, and by merely presenting some conducting substance to different parts of the nerves or muscles of a dissected frog, violent motions were produced, exactly similar to those which were excited by a discharge of the electrical machine.

5. The discovery of M. Galvani has since led to very important ends, through the great care and attention of M. Volta, who, improving upon his discovery of the power of conductors, has been enabled to supply the philosophical world with an instrument of very extraordinary powers, especially for purposes of chemical decomposition. At first M. Volta was led to suppose that it required only a set of different conductors, two metals and a fluid, to collect and distribute the electrical matter; he considered that, upon these principles, he had produced an artificial imitation of the electrical powers exhibited by the torpedo, the gymnotus, silurus, and tetrodon electricus; but further discoveries demonstrated that there was a chemical agency going forward all the time, and that much depended on the action of the fluids on the metals, which are all naturally excellent conductors, but become non-conductors when oxydated, some

being more easily oxydated than others. The voltaic pile is a simple galvanic combination; a series of them forms a battery. The most perfect galvanic combination is held to consist in such an arrangement of metals exposed to the action of an oxydating fluid, as are liable to very different changes; the greatest and the least. In every simple galvanic combination, water is decomposed, the oxygen entering into union with the metal, and the hydrogen being evolved.

6. Since this discovery, many have engaged in electro-chemical researches, of the utmost importance, particularly our own countryman, Sir Humphrey Davy. His experiments on the alkalies and earths, and discovery of their metalic nature, being in themselves sufficient to show how wide a range of enquiry is opened to the experimentalist by this powerful agent; it being reasonable to suppose that there is scarcely any substance in nature, either above or below the surface of the earth, that is not subject, more or less, to the chemical agencies of electricity. Heretofore the observations of the philosopher were chiefly, if not entirely, confined to those sudden and violent changes which take place through any powerful concentration of the electric fluid. These new

discoveries seem to afford him a fair chance and opportunity of tracing some at least of those manifold changes which may be brought about in a more quiet, tranquil, and insensible manner; and which, in all probability, are incessantly operating effects, hitherto little known and little suspected. It is obvious that medicine, chemistry, physiology, mineralogy, and geology, may all be greatly assisted by a more perfect knowledge of such curious and hitherto hidden processes of nature. Before the galvanic method of exciting electricity had been discovered, many very curious experiments had been made, to prove the influence of electricity on the atmosphere, magnetism, vegetation, muscular motion; in earthquakes, volcanoes, and other natural appearances and operations; all of which are likely to become better known, and further illustrated, by the application of the electro-chemical apparatus, which, since its first invention, has been already greatly improved. It may not be amiss to observe, that meteorology, as a particular branch of knowledge, has been greatly aided by all the improvements spoken of above in chemistry and electricity, and in the invention of many instruments, very simple, but chiefly to be referred to the eighteenth century; as the

barometer, the thermometer, the hydrometer, the pluviameter or rain-gauge, the anemometer, and electrometer already mentioned. Amongst the most eminent of those who have applied themselves to this study, we may reckon Messrs. Bouguer, Saussure, De Luc, Gay-Lussac, Van-Marum, Ferguson, Cavallo, &c.; Drs. Franklin, Blagden, and Priestley; Messrs. Canton and Beccaria.

MINERALOGY AND GEOLOGY.

1. *Mineralogy* and *Geology* are reasonably to be regarded as *new* sciences since the close of the seventeenth century, having been cultivated from that time in a manner totally new, and greatly advanced by the progress made in other sciences, and the improvement of many arts. They are both, however, still so much in their infancy, that a very brief account of what has taken place during the last and present century is the utmost that we can attempt.

2. It was not till towards the middle of the last century, that the modern scientific arrangements of minerals began to occupy the attention of naturalists. That indefatigable observer, Lin-

næus, did not overlook this branch of natural history, but introduced into the twelfth edition of his "Systema Naturæ," published in 1768, a systematic view of "The Regnum Lapideum," which he divided into three classes, *Petræ*, *Mineræ*, and *Fossiliæ*, many orders, and fifty-four genera. In 1793, Gmelin republished the "Systema Naturæ" of Linnæus, with alterations and improvements.

3. Linnæus did not take the lead in such arrangements: in his own work he notices the preceding systems of Bromelius, who published in 1730; Wallerius, in 1747; Woltersdorf, in 1748; Curtheuser, in 1755; Justi, in 1757; Cronstedt, in 1758; and Vogel, in 1762. Linnæus, however, has the credit of having first reduced the science of mineralogy into classes and orders, and Wallerius and himself undertook the arduous and hazardous task of fixing the specific characters of minerals. Wallerius's second system appeared in 1772. In 1781, Veltheim published his system at Brunswick, and in 1782, Bergmans made its appearance at Leipsic.

4. Before this time the celebrated Werner, professor of mineralogy at Freyburg, in Saxony, had published a treatise on the classification of minerals, according to their external characters,

which was more fully illustrated in his notes to a translation of Cronstedt, which appeared in 1780. Werner has obtained a name amongst mineralogists and geologists, which stands deservedly high; though he seems only to have prepared the way for the observations and experiments of others, by an accumulation and description of facts and appearances, extremely curious and valuable. The fundamental principle in Werner's mineralogical arrangement is the natural affinity of fossils, of which he enumerates three kinds; the chemical, the oryctognostical, and the geognostic. Mr. Kirwan first introduced the Wernerian system into Britain, in his treatise on mineralogy, 1784.

5. In 1773, the study of the regular or crystalline forms of minerals seemed to give a new turn to mineralogy. The first work of eminence in this line was the Crystallographie of the celebrated Romé de l'Isle, which was made the basis of the system of Haüy, published in 1801. All mineral bodies are supposed by this system to be reduceable by mechanical division to an *integrant molecule*. From the form and component parts, it has been proposed to deduce the specific characters. The forms of the *integrant molecule* are found to be three; the tetra-

hedron, the triangular prism, and the parallelapiped. Much attention has been paid to this system, and it must be acknowledged that if the tests proposed were easily to be applied, and chemistry had proceeded so far as thoroughly to enable us to distinguish between the accidental and essential ingredients of minerals, as has been done in some remarkable instances with much effect, more direct means of distinguishing minerals could scarcely be devised: but, as things stand at present, there seems to be too much geometry and chemistry necessary to render such a system generally useful. In 1808, however, M. Chevenix, in the Annales de Chymie, gave great support to the system of Haüy, to the disparagement of that of Werner, to whom, nevertheless, he is careful to give due praise. Crystallization will long remain, probably, a subject of most curious research and enquiry among geologists as well as mineralogists; the appearances of it in primitive rocks leading immediately to the grand question concerning the operations of fire and water, which have divided the cultivators of this branch of study into the two parties of *Plutonists*, who contend for the *igneous* origin of those rocks, and the *Neptunists*, who refer them to an *aque-*

ous origin; of the latter of which was the celebrated Werner.

6. Many other systems, more or less connected with Werner's, have been made public, as Brochart's, Schmeisser's, 1795; Babington's, 1796; Brogniarts, (a very useful and valuable one,) Kidd's, 1809; Clarke's, 1811; one by Mr. Arthur Aikin; and, lastly, that of Berzelius, a Swedish chemist, who has lately attempted to establish a pure scientific system of mineralogy, by the application of the electro-chemical theory and the chemical proportions: as this system is closely connected with the latest discoveries and improvements that have been made in chemistry and electricity, we shall here close our remarks on mineralogy, as a science by no means perfected, but open to further experiments and observations, though very materially advanced since the close of the seventeenth century.

7. Geology has arisen out of mineralogy; and though no new science as to name, is entirely so according to the principles upon which it is now conducted. Werner was for giving a *new* name at once to the new science, which was a judicious step to take, though it has not been generally adopted; he called it *Geognosie*: it is fit, indeed, that it should be distinguished from the

geology of old, which only engendered a parcel of fanciful theories of the earth, unfounded on facts. How the globe was formed, is a very different enquiry from that of "what has happened to it since it was formed?" modern geology is chiefly conversant with the latter; to examine the interior of the earth, as far as it can be examined, in order to understand the course of the revolutions and changes that have taken place, and of which we perceive the most manifest proofs: already very extraordinary circumstances have been discovered, indicative of successive changes, both before and after any organic beings existed, and therefore both before as well as after the globe became strictly habitable; among the most curious effects plainly to be traced, may be reckoned the extensive operations of fire and water, the extinction of many species of vegetables and animals, and the very extraordinary preservation of some of the latter, bespeaking a state of congelation, at the moment of the catastrophe by which they appear to have been overwhelmed; remains of animals in places where they no longer exist, and the extraordinary absence of human reliquiæ. The science of comparative anatomy has been of great use in these researches, in which nobody has distin-

guished himself more than M. Cuvier, secretary of the French Institute.

8. Many geological societies are forming, or have been already formed, in different parts of Europe and in America, and professorships founded in our Universities; but it will be long, perhaps, before the several observations and discoveries making in all parts of the world can be so compared, classed, and methodised, as to bring out such results as may be admitted for certain and indisputable truths, in regard to the history of the earth and of man. In the mean while, we should consider that geologists have always a field to work in, abounding in materials so applicable to every useful art as to promise continual accessions of knowledge, not merely scientific, but of real practical utility.

We ought not, perhaps, to dismiss this part of our subject, without noticing the very curious geological map of England, published by our countryman, Mr. Smith, in 1815, a work of great merit and originality.

GEOGRAPHY.

1. We have mentioned *Geography*, also, as among those sciences which may be regarded as almost new, not only because it is since the middle of the last century that we have acquired a more correct knowledge of the figure of the earth, but from the extraordinary manner in which the whole terraqueous globe has been explored of late, and the additions consequently made to our former knowledge of its parts: the discoveries that have taken place since the close of the seventeenth century have, according to the French geographers, presented to us two new quarters or portions of the world, and which have been denominated *Australasia* and *Polynesia*. The following account may serve to explain these additions to modern geography:

2. The former is held to contain, 1. New Holland, (an immense island, or rather continent, as it has been accounted by some, under the title of *Notasia*,) and all the islands between twenty degrees west, and between twenty and thirty degees east of it. 2. New Guinea and the islands adjacent. 3. New Britain, New Ireland, and the Solomon Isles. 4. New Caledonia

and the New Hebrides. 5. New Zealand. 6. Van Dieman's Land, which is separated from New Holland by Basse's Strait or Channel, and is about thirty leagues wide.

3. The division called *Polynesia*, consists of, 1. The Pelew Islands. 2. The Ladrone or Marian Islands. 3. The Carolines. 4. The Sandwich Islands. 5. The Marquesas, which are very numerous. 6. The Society Islands, about sixty or seventy in number. 7. The Friendly Islands. 8. The Navigators' Islands. The largest island in this division is Owhyhee, one of the Sandwich Islands, and the place where the celebrated circumnavigator, Cook, lost his life.

4. The voyages and travels conducive to these discoveries are too generally known to be much dwelt upon in such a work as the present. It will be sufficient merely to mention the names of those who, since the years 1735 and 1736, (when the Spanish and French mathematicians undertook their celebrated missions to measure a degree of the meridian under the pole and at the equator,) have been employed by the different powers of Europe on voyages of discovery.

5. Of the English we may enumerate:

Byron, 1764—1766. Mr. Harrison's timepiece applied to the discovery of the longitude.

Wallis and Carteret, 1766. Sailed together, but soon separated; Otaheite and other islands discovered.

Cook, three voyages: —

First voyage, 1768—1771. The transit of Venus observed at Matavai, in Otaheite, June, 1769. New Holland, and New Zealand explored.

Second voyage, 1772—1775, in search of a sourthern continent. The *Terra Australis* marked in ancient maps.

Third voyage, 1776—1780, to discover a northern passage; fatal to Captain Cook, who was killed at Owhyhee.

Portloch and Dixon, 1785—1788; principally to establish the fur-trade, at Nootka Sound.

Vancouver, 1790—1795, to explore the northern passage. Unsuccessful.

Phipps, (Lord Mulgrave,) North Pole, 1773.

Lord Macartney, China, 1792.

Lord Amherst, ditto, 1816, 1817.

Captain Flinders and others, to New Holland.

Of the French we may reckon,

Bougainville, 1766—1768.

La Peyrouse, 1785—1788, supposed to have perished.

D'Entricasteux, in search of La Peyrouse.

Marchand, 1790—1792.

The Spaniards appear to have employed Malaspina, an Italian, 1790, to explore distant seas and countries; but his voyage was not published. These were all of them voyages, not merely devoted to geographical discoveries, but in which competent persons, in almost every branch of science, were concerned, to take account of whatever should offer itself to their notice, or be likely to contribute, in any manner whatsoever, to the general advancement of human knowledge; astronomy, botany, zoology, meteorology, physiology, mineralogy, and geology. Trade and commerce, navigation and the arts, were constantly in the way of receiving illustration or improvement, during these bold attempts to advance the geography of the world, and solve the difficulties which still seemed to hang about that interesting and important science. The names of Banks, Solander, Green, Sparrman, Forster, and Anderson, will descend to the remotest posterity, with that of Cook.'

6. War often, indeed, interrupted these pursuits, but the eighteenth century has the credit of affording the following strong marks of the progress of civilisation and liberal ideas. It was during a continental war, that a combination of learned and scientific persons, English, French,

Russians, Danes, and Swedes, in the year 1761, laying aside their animosities, undertook the arduous task of observing, for astronomical and geographical purposes, a transit of Venus over the sun. It was in the midst of war that France, in a very public and formal manner, suspended all hostilities that could in any manner affect the progress or safe return of our English navigator, Cook; and both the French and English, in the course of their voyages of discovery are known to have evinced a spirit of philanthropy and humanity very opposite to what had passed on such occasions in former ages. The improvement of every barbarous and savage people they might visit was among the first thoughts of those who were engaged in these new adventures. Some remarkable directions to this effect, given by Louis XVI. himself to La Peyrouse, will for ever do honour to the memory of that benign but ill-fated monarch. The English circumnavigators were not less attentive to these things, but continually sought the amelioration of the savage condition of the people they visited; too often, however, quite in vain, or without any lasting effect.

7. It would be utterly out of our power to enter into any details of the numerous researches

that have been made in all parts of the globe, since the spirit of discovery was first excited, which has so remarkably distinguished the period of which we are treating. In the north and south, east and west, of both hemispheres, many parts have been carefully explored, and every information obtained that can throw light on the history either of the earth or of man. The two peninsulas of India, Persia, Arabia, Egypt, and Abyssinia, the northern and the southern, and, in some instances, the interior parts of Africa; Syria, Greece, and Turkey; Norway, Lapland, Siberia, and even the wilds of Tartary and Kamschatka; New Spain; the back settlements of North America, and North America itself; Iceland, Greenland, &c.; have all been visited by persons of science and learning, and are almost as well known now, as the most frequented and civilised parts of Europe; all that can be ascertained of their history; all that the remains of antiquity could unfold to the eye of curiosity; all the animals, plants, minerals, they produce; have been so amply examined, described, classed, and methodised, that it may reasonably be supposed, that, in very many instances, all that can be known is known. The interior parts of Africa being almost the only exception, most of

those who have attempted to explore them having found their grave there. Of China much, perhaps, remains to be examined; nor can we be said to be well acquainted yet with central Asia. Among the travels enumerated, the scholar, in particular, has been in no ordinary degree gratified by the visits that have been recently paid to modern Greece, and by the able, classical, and scientific descriptions which have been given of that very interesting portion of the continent, by many of our own countrymen; as well as by M. Pouquéville, who having accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt, at the close of the last century, was among the first to explore those celebrated regions. — Egypt itself, indeed, has been visited by several of our countrymen since the French were driven from it; and many curious accounts have been given to the public, of its antiquities, its present aspect and condition, and of the character of the people. As in the case of Greece, most of the visitors to Egypt have been persons of fortune and education.

8. The new means of enquiry and investigation have so kept pace with the wide field lately opened to the world, that even *individuals* have been found competent to bring home with them from the most remote countries, ample inform-

ation upon all the great points that can possibly interest the curiosity of man: a greater instance of this could not, perhaps, be produced, than in the case of a living traveller and author, the celebrated M. Humboldt, of Prussia, whose multifarious researches, at a very early age, in almost all parts of the globe, have added more to the general stock of knowledge in the compass of a very few years, than could have been attained by ages of enquiry in times at all distant. In speaking of this very celebrated traveller, whose accounts of Spanish America, in particular, have lately excited so much attention, it is fit also to notice the removal of many restraints and impediments in the way of such researches, through the more liberal policy of the mother-country; so far from expressing, as would have been the case in former times, any jealousy of such a visit to her colonies, M. Humboldt obtained the express approbation and concurrence of the Spanish court. The removal of the court of Portugal to the Brazils in the year 1807 has also proved favourable in no small degree to the prosecution of such enquiries; the King having, with considerable liberality, patronised such undertakings.

9. The sovereigns of Russia, from the time of Peter the Great, through a natural desire of acquiring a correct knowledge of their very extended dominions, buried at the close of the seventeenth century in profound ignorance and obscurity, were careful to employ proper persons to make such discoveries, who so ably discharged their commissions, that before the end of the eighteenth century, a very celebrated German professor declared that they had amassed such a quantity of materials, entirely new, for the history of the three kingdoms of nature, for the theory of the earth, for rural economy, and for an infinity of other objects relative to the arts and sciences, as would employ many learned men for several years, in their proper arrangement and classification. The names of Beering and Spangberg, Pallas, Gmelin, Müller, Chappe D'Auteroche, Georgî, Lepechin, are well known, as among those who have most distinguished themselves in these northern and north-eastern expeditions. Among the improvements connected with the science of geography, and its progress, we should be glad if we could do justice to the very learned and eminent persons who have, in a manner unknown before, devoted their time to the more correct delineation of

the face of the globe, in the construction of maps and charts, which seem to be advancing rapidly to the highest degree of perfection. M. D'Anville, whose labours in this way are so well known, may be justly considered perhaps as having given the first or principal stimulus in this line of study, to the geographers of modern times. Much has been done to facilitate the communication by sea between different parts of the world, in the improvement of chronometers, observations on the variation of the needle, the coppering of ships, and the superior attention paid to winds and currents; much, however, appertaining to geography strictly so called, is still, perhaps, capable of farther advancement or correction; as in what relates to the extent, direction, latitudes and longitudes of mountains, with their elevation, character, &c.: to the rise, course, and termination of rivers, &c., and the exact distances of places; in which last particular, very strange mistakes have but recently been detected.

10. As the science of astronomy is in many instances connected with geography, we may here notice the changes that have taken place in regard to the former, during the last and present centuries; which, however, being only in the

way of addition upon the established principles of the Copernican and Newtonian systems, are not such as can be said to have altered the character of the science itself; and, indeed, the additions that have been made are very easily enumerated, though they must have cost much pains, and are the results of very curious observations and intricate calculations, on the part of those to whom we stand indebted for them.

11. We have added five planets to those formerly known as belonging to our solar system. The Georgium Sidus, or Uranus, discovered by the celebrated Sir W. Herschel, 1781, and its satellites, 1787; Ceres, by M. Piazzi, at Palermo, 1801; Pallas, by Dr. Olbers, at Bremen, 1802; Juno, by M. Harding, of Lilienthal, in 1804; and Vesta, by Dr. Olbers, 1807. To the former of these celebrated observers we owe a most enlarged knowledge of the celestial regions, particularly of the nebulous parts, from the application of his new telescopes of most extraordinary powers, which have enabled us to ascertain that the milky-way, and other similar appearances in the heavens, are a congeries of fixed stars, in strata, prodigiously numerous, and exhibiting very curious phenomena. Of the immense amount of these stars, which may still

have beyond them an unfathomable and unexplorable abyss of the same kind, we may form some conjecture from the following statement of Sir William himself, who found by his gauges, in the year 1792, that, in the small space of forty-one minutes, no less than 238,000 stars, in the *via lactea*, had passed through the field of view in his telescope. Sir William places our own system in the *via lactea*. He has discovered, besides many new stars, double and triple stars, and what he calls changing stars.

12. We have learned to correct our ideas concerning the substance of the body of the sun, heretofore considered as entirely of an igneous nature. Though its rays contribute largely to the production of heat on the earth's surface, many very obvious appearances ought sooner to have convinced us of what now seems clearly to be understood, that the sun is not a body of fire.

13. The science of astronomy has been much promoted during the time of which we have been treating, by the improvement or invention of many curious and necessary instruments, and the building and establishment of regular observatories; and practical astronomy has been carried to a very high pitch, by the talents and

ingenuity of many very eminent persons in France, Britain, Germany, Italy, &c.; as M. Clairault, D'Alembert, De la Caille, La Place, La Grange, Bailly, De la Lande, &c.; Bradley, Maskelyn, Herschel, Hutton, Robison, Ferguson, Vince, &c.; Euler, Mayer, Boda, Bianchini, Boscovich, Frisi, Piozzi, &c.

14. We have spoken elsewhere of the travels, expressly undertaken in 1753, to measure, in the northern and southern parts of the world, a degree of the meridian, by which the figure of the earth was ascertained to be an oblate spheroid, according to the conjectures of Sir Isaac Newton, and contrary to the assertions of the Cassinis and Bernouilli, who had for some time insisted that the polar diameter was longer than the equatorial: all the experiments seemed to concur in proving the reverse. The steps that were taken, in the years 1761 and 1769, to determine the parallax of the sun, by observing the transit of Venus, afford another strong proof of the extraordinary zeal and resolution with which science was cultivated during the period of which we have been treating. On the recommendation of Dr. Halley, who had observed a transit of Mercury at St. Helena, but who did not expect to live to see a transit of Venus, and who in fact died in

1742, mathematicians and astronomers were sent out in the years before mentioned, both from France and England.

15. Among the modern inventions appertaining to astronomy, besides the instruments absolutely necessary to correct observation, we may reckon those curious and elegant machines, exhibiting the motions and phenomena of our solar system and its several parts; our orreries, planetariums, tellurians, lunariums, &c.; all of which may be considered as extremely interesting and ingenious contrivances.

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1. It would be useless to attempt to give any circumstantial account of the progress that has been made in the other sciences, during the period of which we have been treating, and vain to seek, by a mere enumeration of names, to do justice to the many eminent and illustrious persons who have distinguished themselves in various parts of the world, in every branch of learning, useful and ornamental, since the commencement of the eighteenth century. The numerous biographical works, chronological charts, critical and philosophical journals, which

have from time to time been published during this period, may supply information much more full and copious than would be at all consistent with the limits of this work, already extended beyond their original design. As, however, the surprizing burst of intellect, investigation, and enterprize, which has so marked and distinguished the last and present century, appears to have been in a great degree connected with the history of Europe during the same period, we shall take a brief view of the latter; beginning with England and France; the two countries which seem in several respects to have had the most considerable share in the changes that have taken place.

2. At the period of the deaths of Queen Anne and Lewis XIV. (see Sect. LXIV.), England and France appear to have stood in situations diametrically opposite. England had just obtained all that she wanted from a revolution; France had scarcely begun to feel that she stood in need of one. England had succeeded in placing her civil and religious rights on a sure footing; France was as yet but little sensible that her's had been greatly violated. England was recovering from a state of misrule and licentiousness; France was declining more than ever into

such a condition. In England, Newton had established his new system of philosophy, and Locke illustrated the principles of a free government; in France, Descartes still held the minds of men in a state of fascination and enchantment, and the people knew not what it was to be free.

3. The French government, by too great severity in political and religious matters, had compelled many of her subjects to take refuge in foreign countries, where they were at liberty to make their own reflections, to print and to publish their thoughts upon the comparative despotism of the country from which they had been driven, and the delusions to which the subjects of the latter were exposed.

4. Among those who had been thus banished, or compelled to retire, no one could have done more to unsettle the minds of his countrymen, in regard both to religion and politics, than the celebrated Bayle. His object appears, however, to have been *merely* to *unsettle* them; for his whole work is a tissue of doubts and difficulties, which he had no disposition to resolve, but to leave to every man's own judgment to determine, after having very impartially stated all the arguments and all the facts he could possibly collect, on both sides of every question.

5. The French had been so long used to submission, that merely to teach them to doubt was a grand step towards a revolution in their opinions; but Bayle did not live to see the seeds he had been sowing come to any perfection. It was not, according to the account of the French themselves, till Voltaire, partly in a state of exile, had visited England, that they began to ripen. In England, Voltaire became acquainted with the philosophy of Newton and Locke, and saw some of the best political principles of the latter, established and in action; but being the guest of Bolingbroke, his deistical principles, which were very early made known, by a passage in his tragedy of Œdipus, underwent no change, or were probably more deeply fixed and confirmed.

6. Though Shaftesbury, Wolston, Collins, Toland, Tindal, and others, had attacked Revelation, and either openly or insidiously sought to imbue the minds of the English with their deistical principles, the public in general were little affected by their writings. Men of superior talents, superior credit, and very superior learning, had lived, or were living, capable, of giving a different tone to the feelings of the people. Newton, Locke, Addison, Steele, Clarke, Swift, &c., were amply sufficient to

support the cause of religion; and not only to defend the very outworks of Christianity, but to avert the shafts of ridicule, and set at naught the sarcasms of infidelity. In those admirable periodical papers, the Spectator, the Guardian, the Tatler, &c., we may trace a direct and most benevolent design of rescuing the rising generation from the contagion of bad examples, and the influence of false principles.

7. In France it was otherwise: Deism, though weak against the plain evidences of Christianity, was strong against the fanaticism of a bigoted, and the superstition of a corrupted, church. The banter of Voltaire soon began to take effect, when aimed at things and persons so vulnerable as the monastic orders, and the controverted points in dispute between the Jesuits and Jansenists. The defence of religion, also, in consequence of these disgraceful and puerile conflicts, and the plausibility of the attacks that were made upon it, which struck hard at its abuses, fell into hands little capable of wielding the weapons so effectually employed in England. The dread of derision too soon damped the spirit of pulpit eloquence, which had cast such lustre on the names of Saurin, Massillon, &c.; and converted even the Christian preacher into a

philosopher of the modern school. Among those who first appeared in defence of revealed religion against the Deists, the French themselves have particularly mentioned the younger Racine, the Cardinal de Polignac, and M. Le Franc de Pompignan. The first wrote a heavy poem which few read; the second a long philosophical poem in Latin, which not many could read; and the last published some *sacred* odes, of which Voltaire found room to say, with his usual wit, "*Sacrés ils sont, car personne n'y touche.*" Though Voltaire might have imbibed his deism in part from Bolingbroke, it was plainly not a plant of English growth; but it proved to be sadly congenial at that time to the soil of France.

8. The Regency had wrought a great change in the principles and manners of that lively people. The profligate habits of the Duke of Orleans opened a wide field to libertines and freethinkers, and naturally encouraged them to speak their minds more freely upon all subjects than would otherwise have been consistent with the spirit of the government. Religion and morals, indeed, could not have received a greater blow than from the extraordinary elevation of the infamous Dubois to the rank of Cardinal,

and to the archbishopric of Cambray, so lately filled by the amiable and virtuous Fenelon.

9. While the morals of the French were thus becoming daily more depraved, the manners of the English were evidently much improved. The grave and austere character of William III., the correct deportment of Mary, and her sister, Queen Anne, had effectually checked the licentiousness of the two preceding reigns, and given encouragement to a set of writers peculiarly capable of amending the age, of inculcating true piety and sound morality, and giving a better tone to the amusements of the public. Instead of the gross indelicacies which had disgraced the writings and degraded the talents of Vanburgh, Behn, Congreve, and even Dryden, the taste and manners of the nation derived great improvement and advantages from the more chaste and correct performances of Addison, Steele, Rowe, Prior, Pope, Thomson, Akenside, &c. The stage underwent a wholesome reformation; and in every department of literature there appeared a manifest leaning towards whatever could conduce to purity of sentiment, and delicacy of feeling.

10. Had Voltaire carried back with him from our shores, as he might have done, a purer form

of Christianity, and a better system of morals, as well as a more correct philosophy and sounder principles of government, he might have conferred a lasting benefit on his country; a benefit the more timely and critical, as it would possibly have prevented some of the worst evils which befel that unhappy nation in her subsequent struggles for liberty. Bayle had taught the French to doubt; Voltaire, having taken a near though imperfect view of England, taught them to think and to enquire; while a greater man than himself was contributing, though more slowly and quietly, to the same end.

11. Almost at the very time that Voltaire was in England, Montesquieu visited the same country; but appears principally to have confined his views to the great object of his researches, the spirit of her laws, and the leading principles of her admirable constitution. There he learned to admire, in its purest form, a limited monarchy, and a system of jurisprudence, equally adverse to tyranny and licentiousness; equally friendly to the wholesome authority of the magistrate, and the just rights of the people; and we might surely add, calculated in no small degree to shew the fallacy of some of his own erroneous principles. (*Supra*, Vol. I. Sections XIX. XL.) Mon-

tesquieu, however, (though in his Persian Letters he had betrayed a leaning towards deism,) moved in a line distinct from that generally taken by the philosophers of the day. While Voltaire very soon manifested a desire of taking the lead of all the wits and freethinkers, however different their talents, their characters, or their principles, Montesquieu was not displeased to be left to himself, and to leave his great work to make its own impressions, however slowly, on sensible and ingenuous minds. Its first effects of any importance may, perhaps, be traced in the remonstrances of the parliaments, who began to take a higher tone after the publication of *L'Esprit des Lois*, and to consider themselves more in the light of representatives of the people.

12. A number of very extraordinary men were beginning at the same time to draw upon themselves the attention of the world, and to employ their talents in different lines, and often upon very different principles, to enlighten the world, and emancipate it from the thraldom of ancient prejudices and inveterate abuses. Among these, however, none were more extravagantly eccentric than J. J. Rousseau. This extraordinary man was decidedly for new-modelling the whole system of political society,

and reducing it to principles which existed only in his own imagination. Not having ever seen a race of savages, he fancied they must be the more perfect the nearer they were to a state of nature; and being tormented with the restraints of civilized society, he concluded civilization itself to be an evil. These sophisms served to render him the idol of the equalizing and destroying demagogues of the Revolution. It was impossible to resist the impressions made by the captivating pictures he drew; but they seldom had any better effect than that of rendering his votaries as dissatisfied with the world as he himself was, and bewildering their imaginations with doubts and difficulties innumerable. He knew how to appreciate the sublime morality of the Gospel, though he could not regulate his own actions by it; and having found in the Bible, as in all other cases, something that dissatisfied his restless and irritable mind, and reviling what he could not approve, or did not sufficiently understand, he certainly did as much mischief to the cause of revealed religion, calling himself a Christian all the while, as the worst of his deistical contemporaries. His opinions and his actions, as exhibited in his own writings, will for ever render him an object of admiration

mingled with pity, if not in some instances with abhorrence!

13. But it was, in no long course of time, discovered that the free opinions that were afloat, and which were as various as the persons who entertained them, and who had as yet no common bond of union, as Voltaire, Rousseau, Buffon, Diderot, D'Alembert, Duclos, Helvetius, Marmontel, Condillac, Raynal, Volney, (to name but a few,) should by some means or other be embodied and consolidated, that the whole of their several thoughts and observations on different subjects might be presented to the world in a mass. This was the origin of that great and voluminous undertaking, the Encyclopédie, spoken of before, planned by Diderot and D'Alembert; and which, to say the least of it, seemed to be a treasure of universal science, far more comprehensive, at least, than any thing of the kind before attempted, being not confined to what might strictly be called the arts and sciences, but extending to every question of government, civil economy, and finance.

14. The Dictionnaire Encyclopédique, amidst many faults and extravagances, contained undoubtedly much important matter, written in so agreeable a style, as to be admirably fitted to

excite and promote a thirst after general knowledge, universal enquiry and investigation, a confidence in private judgment, and a prejudice against every thing that appeared to have no other support than custom and authority. Wheat might be torn up with the tares, and tares often sown instead of corn: but it must be acknowledged that we stand indebted to the projectors of this work for the detection and extirpation of many errors, and the powerful stimulus given by their movements to the spirit of free enquiry and useful research.

15. The persons engaged in it have been so generally called philosophers, and have been styled such in so many histories of the French Revolution, that it is almost necessary to observe that the greater part of them bore little resemblance to those who had heretofore been dignified with that title. The Regent, Duke of Orleans, though dissolute in his habits of life, was a man of taste, talent, and information; so that the *savans* of France, who had heretofore been a retired order of men, became about this period the life of society, and the ornaments of the highest circles in the metropolis. Some few, indeed, still kept at a distance from the court, but, generally speaking, such was the state of

things during the Regency; and afterwards, when Lewis XV. fell into that disgraceful course of life which clouded his latter days, and subjected him and his mistresses to the censure of the clergy, even Voltaire, whom the King personally disliked, and the Encyclopædists, as enemies to the clergy, were taken into favour. They were often indeed dismissed again, but never entirely driven from court.

16. This change of public opinion, even in the highest circles, introduced the learned into places where they never appeared before, and gave them a new character. While the influence, which the men of letters thus began to acquire in society, obliged the *noblesse* to change their habits also, and to mingle with those who before formed a distinct class; it obliged them also to cultivate learning themselves, and even the females found it necessary to become more or less philosophical.

17. In the mean while some of these modern philosophers had other European courts set open to them, particularly in the northern parts of Europe; where a greater degree of liberty in the article of opinion already prevailed, very different from the bigoted and Machiavelian principles of Rome and Italy, which had hitherto borne sway.

Catherine II. of Russia, and Frederic of Prussia, through a laudable desire probably of improving and enlightening their semi-barbarous dominions, invited thither some of the most busy of the French literati; but with little judgment or discrimination. Frederic, besides Voltaire, D'Alembert, and Maupertius, gave free admission, and even encouragement, to the Atheist La Methrie, the Marquis D'Argens, and the Abbé de Prades; and Catherine received, and greatly patronized in his latter years, the celebrated Diderot. Thus, with the knowledge and learning which the new philosophers really possessed, scepticism and infidelity were spread far and wide, and there was a sad mixture of darkness and illumination in all they taught.

18. The French Revolution has been attributed to the literati, or philosophers, of those days; but we should greatly err if we were to suppose that they contemplated generally such a dissolution of things as afterwards took place; many, indeed, were dead before the Revolution commenced. Neither Voltaire nor Montesquieu were republicans: the former had a supreme contempt for the populace; and by his flatttery of Catherine II. and the Marchioness de Pompadour, would seem to have had little of the re-

publican spirit in him. Indeed it has been asserted of him, that "he loved kings." Raynal is said to have shuddered when he saw his own violent imprecations on despotism and tyranny brought into action. Some, however, undoubtedly threw aside all restraints, openly declared themselves Deists, Atheists, &c.; and to their abominable blasphemy and infidelity we may reasonably impute many of the evils which marked those dreadful times: but, in truth, the history of opinions ceases to be conected, after a short time, with the French Revolution. It very soon became a struggle of passsions and private interests, and at length terminated in a catastrophe as fatal to the literati as to the throne and the altar. That fatal instrument, the *guillotine*, so much spoken of at that time, was stained with the blood of some of those very persons who had contributed most to the advancement of knowledge, and the propagation of liberal ideas.

19. The impulse, however, was now given to two of the most curious, ingenious, and inquisitive nations of Europe; and nothing could possibly exceed the rapidity with which every branch of science has since been cultivated. In Britain, constantly with more steadiness, gravity,

and judgment than in France, though not with more zeal and activity. The Germans, in the mean while, in the northern parts more particularly, seem to have devoted their time to studies of rather a different description, being known chiefly for works of intense research and most profound learning. Experimental philosophy, natural history, and chemistry, have indeed been also cultivated by them with considerable success; but in works of fancy, wit, and humour, they have not acquired so much credit as their neighbours. A singular disposition to indulge in tales of wonder, chivalry, and knight-errantry, has been manifested in most of their works of imagination; and in metaphysics, they have produced systems, which, while they betray an extraordinary talent for the investigation of such abstruse subjects, are certainly more to be admired for their ingenuity than their utility.

20. No country in Europe, perhaps, can have undergone greater improvements during the period of which we have been treating than Russia; but her improvement has not been so much progressive, as sudden. The mighty genius of Peter the Great determined him to introduce his own extensive empire at once into the commonwealth of Europe; and, instead of waiting to

give his subjects a capacity for improving themselves, as other nations had done, he eagerly adopted all that had been discovered elsewhere, and converted his rude people into a civilized nation, just as far as such methods could reach. He taught them to adopt and imitate what they were as yet in no condition to invent, or even improve, and left it to his successors to fill up the gaps that might remain unprovided for at the time of his death. His subjects, or rather slaves, obeyed his dictates, and have continued since to borrow from their neighbours, till they have obtained such a sufficiency of good things, as to be no longer regarded as a rude or ignorant people, though all the other countries of Europe had the start of them till the very close of the seventeenth century.

21. Peter the Great had, in a small compass of time, some very weak and some very wise successors: the former have not been suffered to stand long in the way of the latter, and though their removal has savoured little of the civilization and improvement of which we have been speaking, it cannot be denied that Russia has been prevented by many singular occurrences from relapsing into her former state of rudeness and barbarity. The extremes of mag-

nificence and rudeness, indeed, are too often found to meet; and the middle class has by no means yet acquired that importance in society which is so essential to every well-regulated government. The state of things still exhibits too much of the old narrow line of distinction, of lords and vassals; nevertheless, Russia has obtained much, and advanced considerably. Where, little more than a century ago, wolves fed and sought their prey, an immense and magnificent city and metropolis now stands, thronged with inhabitants from all parts of the globe; but perhaps it would be well if she would consent to step back and give a solid and more natural base to her acquirements. The system of adoption and imitation has brought her to a state rather of superficial than of real greatness. She has had her universities before her schools; but it could not well be otherwise in so sudden an improvement: much remains to be done before the nation at large, in its several relations, social and political, can be said to be really and effectually civilized.

22. Sweden, during the eighteenth century, produced many eminent men, and contributed largely to the advancement of science. It may be sufficient to mention, in proof of this, the

names of Linnæus, Wallerius, Cronstadt, Bergman, Scheele, Thunberg, and Sparrman.

23. The Danes have not been idle, but have encouraged in many ways the promotion of literature and philosophy; mathematics and astronomy, zoology, botany, and other sciences, have been cultivated with good success; and many splendid works are extant, that reflect great credit on the spirit and ardour of the government, as well as of individuals, and the learned societies instituted and established there.

DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS.

1. MANY new discoveries and inventions of lasting benefit to mankind, as well as many most essential improvements of old inventions and discoveries, have marked the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; some of the most remarkable of which it will be sufficient merely to name, as they are already become too common and familiar to need explanation; such as, *inoculation*, and much more recently, *vaccination*; *steam-engines* and *steam-boats*; printing of *linen* and *cotton* cloths; *paper* for *rooms*; *figured silks* and *carpets*; *spinning machines*; *stereotype*

printing, and *lithographic engraving; musical types; porcelain* and *pottery;* particularly *Welch* and *iron-stone* china; *lightning conductors; time-pieces; pneumatic, electrical,* and *galvanic* apparatus; *life-boats* and *life-preservers;* the *speaking-trumpet, safety-lamp, telegraphs, gas-lights, panoramas, balloons, reflecting* and *achromatic telescopes, concave mirrors,* with various other *optical* and *astronomical* instruments.

2. Laws and governments have been advancing towards a greater degree of perfection, though in many countries very slowly, and manifestly under difficulties and impediments which time only can remove. The French Revolution opened people's eyes to ancient abuses; but, by inducing all the evils and horrors of anarchy, did by no means accomplish so much for real liberty as might have been wished and expected: like other tumultuary revolutions, it terminated in a military despotism; and its effects on the continent of Europe have been hitherto very partial, and of no very great importance as to the actual amelioration of things. Still we may justly enumerate among the changes conducive to the future benefit, comfort, and happiness of mankind, the steps taking in several states to restore or establish the representative

system of government, the dissolution of many monastic institutions, and feudal privileges; the check that has been given to arbitrary imprisonment, torture, the horrors of the Inquisition, and the African slave-trade. The improvements that have taken place, principally through the interposition of our benevolent countryman, Mr. Howard, in the management of prisons, and the extraordinary steps lately taken, especially in the British dominions, for the better education of the poor and their instruction in religion.

3. It would be vain indeed to attempt to enumerate the astonishing additions that have been made, within these few years, to the public establishments for the promotion of knowledge, the advancement of professional skill, and the relief of the necessities of mankind. Philosophical societies of all descriptions have been formed in various parts, under the most favourable circumstances of support and encouragement. The propagation of Christianity has been attended to, and promoted with extraordinary zeal, not only by individuals, but by missionary and Bible societies, far too numerous to mention. Every description of medical, chirurgical, and other assistance, has been furnished to the poor, by a most extraordinary increase of hospitals

and infirmaries, dispensaries, asylums, and charity-schools. The naval and military professions have had the benefit conferred on them of new and distinct academies, including a charitable provision for the children of those who have perished in either service. The improved state of chemistry and mechanical skill has advanced many arts to a very high degree of perfection, and much assisted both the manufacturing and agricultural industry; nor should we omit to mention, as among the improvements of latter years, by which our own country in particular has been benefited in the highest degree, the amendment of the public roads, the increased means and facilities of public conveyance and communication, and the advancement of inland navigation.

RELIGION.

1. In regard to religion, from the close of the seventeenth century to the year 1820, we may remark that paganism continues to prevail over the greater part of Asia, Africa, and the new discovered islands, as well as among the Indians of America, North and South (in the settle-

ments of the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Roman Catholic religion has been introduced of course). Mahometanism prevails in some parts of India, in Persia, Arabia, Egypt, the States of Barbary, Syria, and Turkey. The Jews continue dispersed over every part of the world, but in a state and condition far better than was formerly the case; in Europe they are no longer exposed to cruel and wanton acts of oppression and persecution, and in some countries they have obtained important privileges. In Abyssinia the majority of the people are said to be Christians, and throughout the whole of the European settlements of North America, Christianity is the received religion, though under a variety of denominations, — Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Dutch reformed church, Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, Methodists, Roman Catholics, German Lutherans, German Calvinists, Moravians, Tunkers, Mennonists, Universalists, Swedenborgians, and Shakers.

2. In regard to religion or Christianity, on the continent of Europe, it has been already shown what rude attacks it had to sustain, during the course and progress of the French Revolution. Deism and even atheism were openly avowed in their national assemblies; the immor-

tality of the soul and resurrection of the body scouted at, and death pronounced to be an eternal sleep. Paganism was in some degree revived, the tree of liberty substituted for the cross, and the goddess of reason elevated above the God of Christians. During the directorial and consular governments, however, Catholicism was restored, but under very altered circumstances; without its accompaniments of monasteries and nunneries, and very much detached from the sway and authority of the papal see.

3. The Protestant churches, of all sects and denominations, have done much, as was before observed, by missions in every direction, to spread the knowledge of Christianity, but seldom with that cordiality and unanimity that might have been wished, and which could not have failed to have given greater effect to their exertions. Among those who have appeared most zealous, though not most discreet, we may reckon the *Moravians* and *Methodists*; two sects or parties, whose most avowed object it has been to stem the torrent of vice and corruption prevailing amongst professed Christians. The Methodists have generally pretended to be of the church of England, though in many ma-

terial respects they appear to have deviated from it, both in doctrine and discipline, and have for some time been divided amongst themselves into two great parties, one espousing the Calvinistic, the other the Arminian, tenets. It is common to refer the origin of Methodism to the year 1729, when the two brothers, John and Charles Wesley, took the lead of those who adhered to the Arminian doctrines. Mr. George Whitfield, who joined them in 1735, became, in 1741, the head of the Calvinistic division.

4. The modern Moravians take their date from the year 1722, when they first settled at Hernhut, in Upper Lusatia, on the states of Nicholas Lewis, Count of Zinzendorf, who, in 1735, became their bishop. They profess to receive the Augsburg Confession; are meek and quiet in their habits and principles, but have at times adopted a strange phraseology, which was thought to affect their moral character, and procured them many enemies. As missionaries they have been extremely active, particularly in the West Indies and America: they profess to be the remains of the Hussites.

5. The Emperor Joseph II. relieved his Protestant subjects of all denominations from many galling restrictions, and greatly abridged the

power of the Pope. Many Catholic princes, even the ecclesiastical states, followed his example in various particulars. In favouring, however, an unlimited freedom of opinion at such a moment, he opened the door to the introduction of deistical principles, and facilitated the formation of a sect of illuminati, which, during the course and progress of the French Revolution, taught and disseminated doctrines adverse in the highest degree to the order of civil society, the rights of property, and the Christian faith.

6. The papal authority, during the latter years of the period under discussion, has been greatly abridged in all countries heretofore subject to it; even in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Sicily; nor is it likely to be recovered, notwithstanding the attempts lately made to restore partially the order of Jesuits and the Inquisition. Of the indignities offered to the last and present Pope by the French we have spoken elsewhere. At one time they so entirely took the reins of government at Rome into their own hands, that the Pope and cardinals were obliged to take flight, in which situation Pius VI. died. His successor, Pius VII., since the final overthrow of Bonaparte, has lived in peace and quietness, in his capital, exercising, notwithstanding his recall

of the Jesuits, a very tolerant and inoffensive sway. It is, however, to be lamented, that, in the instance of the Pope, as well as of the King of Naples, and others, their resentment of the French usurpations on their return to their dominions has been carried so far as to abrogate every ordinance of the French Emperor, however wise or salutary, and even to undo what had been begun, manifestly tending to the improvement of their respective countries.

HISTORY, POLITE LITERATURE, FINE ARTS, &c.

1. We feel ourselves rather at a loss to give any satisfactory account of the progress that has been made in the branches of knowledge pointed out by the title of this section: it would far exceed our limits to attempt to enumerate the many historical works that have been published during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or to go into any regular discussion of the particular merits of the several poets, painters, musicians, philosophers, philologists, &c. &c., who may be said to have distinguished themselves in the period of which we have been treating. To do this with any degree of jus-

tice, we should be obliged, perhaps, to divide them into many classes, and assign to the several individuals of the long list that might be produced their respective ranks and stations, from the highest degree of perfection to mediocrity, or lower; we should have to draw a comparison between them and their predecessors, and consider, in various points of view, every advance they had made in their different callings, studies, and pursuits: but such a discussion would be quite unsuitable to a work like the present. Many of those, indeed, who have contributed to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, have been already mentioned; but there are still some names which almost demand our notice, before we entirely close this volume. It should, however, be observed, that many very eminent persons, who lived till long after the commencement of the eighteenth century, belong to a different period, having been the ornaments of what is called the age of Lewis XIV. It may be best, perhaps, to arrange the few we feel bound to select from the great mass of authors, artists, &c., according to their countries.

2. In Germany the following may be said to have acquired a high reputation: Mascov,

Mosheim, Pfeffel, Herder, Müller, in *History*; Schiller in *History* and *Tragedy*; Klopstock, Gesner, Wieland, Kotzebue, in *Poetry* and *Dramatic writing*; in *Painting*, Mengs; Ingenhouz in *Chemistry*, and Bode in *Astronomy*; Handel, Gluck, Hadyn, and Mozart, in *Music*; Lavater in the fanciful science of *Physiognomy*. Even the names of Mesmer, Mainaduc, Gall, and Spurzheim, may require to be mentioned, as having for some time, in an extraordinary manner, amazed the ignorant, and deceived the credulous, by their strange systems of *Animal Magnetism* and *Craniology*.

3. In France, Calmet, Montfauçon, the Count de Caylus, Rollin, Vertot, Rapin, Goguet, Millot, Raynal, Mably, and the Abbé Barthélemy, particularly distinguished themselves in the line of *History* and *Antiquities*; to whom we may now add, perhaps with reason and justice, Mad. de Stael, and M. La Cretelle. M. Bailly, one of the victims of the Revolution, rendered himself conspicuous by his very curious History of Astronomy, and other works. Many of his contemporaries, who applied themselves to other branches of science, have been already mentioned. Some of them also fell by the hands of the public executioner, during the dreadful pe-

riod of the Revolution. Their most celebrated *painter*, however, David, escaped, but with more reputation as an artist than as a man; for his own proceedings, as a revolutionist, were base and sanguinary.

4. In Great Britain, we have to boast, in the line of *History*, of the names of Robertson, Watson, Hume, Henry, Gibbon, Lyttelton, Goldsmith, Roscoe, Russell, Gillies, Ferguson, Stuart, Mitford, Belsham, Adolphus, Coxe, &c. &c.; in *Law*, of Sir William Blackstone, whose Commentaries, for elegance and perspicuity of diction, stand unrivalled. Bolingbroke and Swift are justly held to have improved the English language, in the two main articles of energy and beauty. The style of Dr. Johnson is less chaste, though perhaps equally forcible. The name of Adam Smith will probably descend to the latest posterity, for his masterly work on the Wealth of Nations, a subject in which he seems almost to have taken the lead, as an original writer. In *Painting*, the names of Hogarth, Reynolds, and West, stand high for originality, taste, conception, and expression; in *Metaphysics*, Hume, Hartley, Berkeley, Reid, Baxter, and Priestley, have distinguished themselves. To the *Poets* already mentioned we must add Gay, Young,

Shenstone, Collins, Gray, Mason, Cowper, Crabbe, Scott, Byron; as *Novelists*, Richardson, Smollett, Fielding, Burney, Edgeworth, &c. Garrick and Siddons have conferred immortal honour on the English *Stage*.

5. Italy, though labouring under great disadvantages, has been by no means deficient in learned and scientific persons, since the close of the seventeenth century. In History and Antiquities, in Poetry, Dramatic works, Natural History, Drawing, Engraving, and Sculpture, the following names richly deserve to be delivered down to posterity: Baronius, Giannone, Muratori, Maffei, Metastasio, Goldoni, Algarotti, Gozzi, Tiraboschi, Beccaria, Spallanzani, Alfieri, Bartolozzi, Cipriani, Canova. France and Italy seem to have a joint claim to a living author of considerable fame, M. Simondes de Sismondi.

TREATY OF VIENNA, 1815.

1. As Europe, generally speaking, may be said to continue at this moment in the state in which it was left by the above treaty, we shall conclude with a brief sketch of the changes that

took place at that memorable period. The duchy of Warsaw was given to the Emperor of Russia, with permission to assume the titles of Czar and King of Poland, some parts, however, being secured to Prussia, under the title of Grand Duchy of Posen. The town of Cracow, in Little Poland, on the banks of the Vistula, was declared to be for ever a free, independent, and strictly neutral city, under the protection of Austria, Russia, and Prussia. The King of Saxony was confirmed in his regal titles, but at the price of many important cessions to Prussia, principally that of the duchy of Saxony. Prussia, besides, recovered Dantzic, Quedlinburg, and many other places; yielding, however, to the King of Great Britain, now become King of Hanover also, many lordships and principalities, in other parts of Germany. A new Germanic Confederation was established, the members of which were declared to be equal in their rights, and bound to render to each other mutual assistance. Their affairs to be confided, first, to a Federative Diet, amounting to seventeen votes; and, 2dly, to a General Assembly, forming sixty-nine votes; who are to decide upon all regulations touching the fundamental laws of the Confederation. The Diet to as-

assembly at Frankfort on the Maine, and Austria to preside. The three important fortresses of Landau, Mentz, and Luxembourg, being assigned over to the Confederation.

2. The United Provinces of the Netherlands, late the Belgic states, were formed into a kingdom, jointly with those of Holland, in favour of the House of Orange Nassau, late Stadtholders; and to the same sovereign was granted the duchy of Luxembourg, with the title of Grand Duke.

3. The integrity of the nineteen cantons of Switzerland was acknowledged, and guaranteed; and Geneva, for the first time, constituted a canton of the Helvetic Confederacy. The states of Genoa were annexed to the kingdom of Sardinia, in the place of many renunciations on the part of the latter power, principally in favour of Geneva. The Grand Duchy of Tuscany was settled on the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria; and King Ferdinand IV. was restored to the sovereignty of the Two Sicilies.

THE END.

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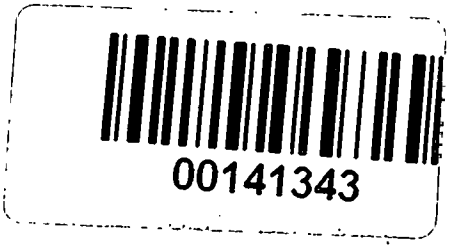
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